

JPRS 68832

28 March 1977

TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1370

EAST

EUROPE

**DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT A**  
Approved for Public Release  
Distribution Unlimited

**U. S. JOINT PUBLICATIONS RESEARCH SERVICE**

Reproduced From  
Best Available Copy

20000301 121

REPRODUCED BY  
NATIONAL TECHNICAL  
INFORMATION SERVICE  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE  
SPRINGFIELD, VA. 22161

---

#### NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

#### PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22151. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Indexes to this report (by keyword, author, personal names, title and series) are available through Bell & Howell, Old Mansfield Road, Wooster, Ohio, 44691.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

BIBLIOGRAPHIC DATA SHEET		1. Report No. JPRS 68832	2.	3. Recipient's Accession No.																		
4. Title and Subtitle  TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE - POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS, No. 1370		5. Report Date 28 March 1977		6.																		
7. Author(s)		8. Performing Organization Rept. No.		9. Performing Organization Name and Address  Joint Publications Research Service 1000 North Glebe Road Arlington, Virginia 22201																		
10. Project/Task/Work Unit No.		11. Contract/Grant No.		12. Sponsoring Organization Name and Address  As above																		
13. Type of Report & Period Covered		14.		15. Supplementary Notes																		
16. Abstracts  The serial report contains articles on official party and government pronouncements and writings on significant domestic political developments; information on general sociological problems and developments in such areas as demography, manpower, public health and welfare, education, and mass organizations; and articles on military and civil defense, organization, theory, budgets, and hardware.																						
17. Key Words and Document Analysis. 17a. Descriptors  <table> <tbody> <tr> <td><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> International Affairs</td> <td>Propaganda</td> </tr> <tr> <td><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Albania</td> <td>Political Science</td> </tr> <tr> <td><input type="checkbox"/> Bulgaria</td> <td>Sociology</td> </tr> <tr> <td><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Czechoslovakia</td> <td>Military Organizations</td> </tr> <tr> <td><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> East Germany</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Hungary</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Poland</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Romania</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td><input type="checkbox"/> Yugoslavia</td> <td></td> </tr> </tbody> </table>					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> International Affairs	Propaganda	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Albania	Political Science	<input type="checkbox"/> Bulgaria	Sociology	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Czechoslovakia	Military Organizations	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> East Germany		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Hungary		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Poland		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Romania		<input type="checkbox"/> Yugoslavia	
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> International Affairs	Propaganda																					
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Albania	Political Science																					
<input type="checkbox"/> Bulgaria	Sociology																					
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Czechoslovakia	Military Organizations																					
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> East Germany																						
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Hungary																						
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Poland																						
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Romania																						
<input type="checkbox"/> Yugoslavia																						
17b. Identifiers/Open-Ended Terms																						
17c. COSATI Field/Group 5D, 5K, 15		19. Security Class (This Report) UNCLASSIFIED	21. No. of Pages 62																			
18. Availability Statement Unlimited Availability Sold by NTIS Springfield, Virginia 22151		20. Security Class (This Page) UNCLASSIFIED	22. Price A04																			

JPRS 68832

28 March 1977

TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1370

CONTENTS

PAGE

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Purpose, Importance of Belgrade Conference Downgraded  
(ESTI HIRLAP, 2 Mar 77).....

1

ALBANIA

Regulation on Handling Explosives, Poisons  
(GAZETA ZYRTARE, 22 Oct 76).....

4

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

FRG Paper Reports Charter 77 Document Number Six  
(FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE, 18, 21 Feb 77).....

12

Measures Against Signers, Sympathizers  
Four Remain in Detention

Czechoslovak Media Assail Kohout and Vaculik  
(Various sources, various dates).....

15

Kohout Has Improper Contacts Abroad  
Vaculik Attacked for His DIE WELT Interview  
Further Attacks on Vaculik

Western Writers Appeal for Release of Jailed Four  
(FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE, 21 Feb 77).....

18

EAST GERMANY

Improvement Needed in Air Forces Technical Services  
(C. Kippenhahn; MILITAERTECHNIK, Jan 77).....

20

## CONTENTS (Continued)

## Page

## HUNGARY

Party Membership Card Exchange Results Discussed (Bela Hary Interview; NEPSZABADSAG, 28 Jan 77).....	28
Goals of Fifth Five-Year Plan Reviewed (Karoly Nemeth; TARSADALMI SZEMLE, Jan 77).....	32

## POLAND

Article by Polish Dissident Kolakowski (L'ESPRESSO, 6 Feb 77).....	49
---	----

## ROMANIA

Historians' Views on 'Historic Compromise' Disputed (Stefan Voicu; ERA SOCIALISTA, Jan 77).....	52
Decree on Deliveries to Defense, Interior Ministries (BULETINUL OFICIAL, 10 Jan 77).....	56

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

PURPOSE, IMPORTANCE OF BELGRADE CONFERENCE DOWNGRADED

Budapest ESTI HIRLAP in Hungarian 2 Mar 77 p 5

[Article by R. B.: "Belgrade Preparations"]

[Text] On the banks of the Sava, where the din of the ever busy capital of Yugoslavia, Belgrade, is becoming more quiet, about 1,500 workers are busy constructing a great, green glass palace. The work is going forward at a great pace, day and night without stop, for it cannot be late. A preparatory meeting of the signatories of the Helsinki Closing Accords will begin in this new congress palace within three and a half months, on 15 June, attended by representatives of 33 European countries and the United States and Canada, and a substantive, consultative meeting will take place here also this year.

Names and Substance

With great practical feeling the Yugoslav hosts are calling the two meetings (actually only one meeting in regard to substance) Belgrade-I and Belgrade-II because the official name--"A Meeting of Representatives Appointed by the Foreign Ministers"--is too long. But the name has a substantial political content. By using the word "meeting" the authors of the closing accords of the European Security and Cooperation Conference wanted to show that they were thinking of something lower than the "conference" which took place in Helsinki. In other words, this is not a repetition of the European security conference, a new phase or a "re-examination." The closing accords define the purpose of the Belgrade meetings precisely. And it is most necessary to call attention to this because now, during active preparation for the Belgrade meetings, some seem to have forgotten the prescriptions of the closing accords.

According to the closing accords the representatives of the states at the meetings to take place "will exchange ideas about the realization of the provisions of the closing accords, about the execution of tasks defined by the conference, about improving mutual contacts in connection with questions debated at the conference, about strengthening European security and developing cooperation and about a future further development of the process

of cooperation." According to the closing accords, this is the task of the substantive meeting. The preparatory meeting, again in the words of the closing accords, must decide "concerning the time, duration, agenda and other conditions of the meeting of the representatives appointed by the foreign ministers."

#### A Unique Exchange of Experiences

All this, translating it from diplomatic language into every-day language, means primarily that there will be a unique exchange of experiences in Belgrade among 35 countries. The central theme of the exchange of experiences will be what has happened since the signing of the closing accords, on 1 August 1975, in the area of European security and cooperation, how the various states evaluate this development and what ways and means they find most suitable for accelerating the realization of the entire proposal put forward in the closing accords.

Those who read the newspapers will know that a series of discussions lasting more than 2 years preceded the signing of the Helsinki Closing Accords in the course of which diplomats debated about 5,000 proposals and drafts for a total of almost 400 working days in Helsinki or Geneva. It is understandable that this is not necessary now. The Yugoslav hosts, after preliminary conversations with the many participants, calculate that the preparatory meeting will not last more than 4-6 weeks while the substantive meeting itself will require at most 3 months and so should end before Christmas. Actually it appears that the substantive work could be done in less time. But it must be recalled that at the Belgrade meeting also the chief principle will be the principle of consensus. This means that not single statement, not a single formulation will be valid until every participant agrees to it. This democratic method, considering the sovereign equality of states, is certainly correct and necessary but it is also certain that multilateral agreement will be time consuming.

#### In the Interest of Detente

In Belgrade also the essential questions will be the substantive questions. Reports arriving concerning the preparations of the states--and we must certainly note that there is very active diplomatic movement among all participants--indicate that most governments evaluate in a very positive way the European development which has taken place since Helsinki and will instruct their representatives going to Belgrade definitely to strengthen this process. These governments are preparing to report sincerely before the other participants in the closing accords concerning what they have done in bilateral contacts with other countries and multilaterally, in international organizations, for the execution of the closing accords. At the same time, of course, they will have to talk about the difficulties and obstacles encountered. But it should never be forgotten that the closing accords will be only 2 years old in August. The historical cooperation

program contained in these accords will involve years and even decades. So those who have little faith and are impatient and who now stress at all sorts of international forums that they had hoped for much swifter progress are not right.

The goal at Belgrade will be a determined defense of the process of political detente which constitutes the chief content of the closing accords. It is no secret that in the past year and a half cold war circles have started a series of attacks against the process of detente and that their most recent attacks are aimed directly at the Belgrade meetings. Casting themselves in the role of alleged champions of "human rights" they would like to turn Belgrade into some sort of judicial trial and intervene in the internal affairs of other states. We can be sure, however, that political realism, which ripened the closing accords in 1975, will now also prove stronger than any other current. The process of detente is not only to be defended but also to be given a new impulse. Among other things, the participants in the Belgrade meeting would be acting usefully if they took a united stand for the necessity of supplementing political detente with military detente. Such a political stand would be in the interest of all of Europe and would have a beneficial effect on the entire world.

It increases the responsibilities of those participating in the Belgrade meetings that the process of European security and cooperation is watched with lively interest outside our continent also. At the UN General Assembly very many Asian, African and Latin American foreign ministers have mentioned the Helsinki agreement as a positive example. They have emphasized that the peoples of other continents too want to draw from the European experiences. Care must be taken at Belgrade that unfounded, not yet ripe or not adequately thought through proposals do not cause differences among the participants. No "further development" or "supplementation" of the closing accords can be on the agenda--the participants do not have the mandate for this. A positive exchange of experiences, a definition of further tasks, designating a time and place for another meeting, working out multilateral methods for all-European cooperation--all this gives tasks enough.

The socialist countries, our homeland among them, are carrying out very active diplomatic activity in the interest of good preparation for the Belgrade meetings and the possible harmonization of the positions of the participants. This is indicated by, among other things, the large number of consultations, visits, and exchanges of ideas which are taking place in these months in Budapest or with the participation of Hungarian statesmen and diplomats abroad.

8984  
CSO: 2500

ALBANIA

REGULATION ON HANDLING EXPLOSIVES, POISONS

Tirana GAZETA ZYRTARE in Albanian No 4, 22 Oct 76 pp 60-68

[Regulations in the "Official Gazette"]

[Text]

Council of Ministers Order No 4 dated 15 September 1976 on Powerful Explosives and Poisons

The Council of Ministers, in order to institute a stringent policy and discipline and insure the lives of human beings during the production, storage, transportation and use of powerful explosives and poisons, issues this order:

I. General Provisions

Article 1

The production, storage, use, purchase, sale and transportation of powerful explosives and poisonous substances are permitted solely to those enterprises, institutions, military units, farm cooperatives and social organizations whose activity is connected with them and which have the proper conditions for producing, storing, using and transporting those substances.

Article 2

Powerful explosive and poisonous substances will be kept in special warehouses built according to the type design approved by the respective ministry.

A permit to erect and maintain any category of these warehouses will be obtained from the internal affairs organ in the district.

### Article 3

Powerful explosive and poisonous substances, when in small amounts, may, with the approval of the internal affairs organ, be kept and stored in the warehouse of an enterprise, institution, farm cooperative or other social organization, but always within the capacity of the warehouse and against documents filled out as to entry and outgo, as well as in accordance with the regulations on their storage.

### Article 4

The withdrawal of powerful explosive and poisonous substances from a warehouse will be studiously governed by daily needs. At the end of operations, the unconsumed portion will be returned to the warehouse. The withdrawal and return of explosive and poisonous substances will be in accordance with the established regulations and regular documents.

### Article 5

The depots of powerful explosive and poisonous substances will be guarded by armed civil guards, provided for in the table of organization, and at the expense of the enterprise, institution, farm cooperative or social organization.

### Article 6

The direction of the production of and operations with powerful explosive and poisonous substances, accompaniment during transportation, and the administration and use of those substances will be entrusted to specialized personnel or other persons who are instructed and equipped with a certificate of fitness by the special commission under the executive committee of the district people's council.

### Article 7

The enterprises, institutions, farm cooperatives and social organs will keep regular and accurate records of the quantities of powerful explosive and poisonous substances that are withdrawn, distributed and consumed, in accordance with the models prescribed by the respective ministry.

## II. On Explosives

### Article 8

The following are explosives: trotyl, ammonite, gunpowder, percussion caps and any other kind of substance comparable thereto with regard to its dangerousness.

## Article 9

Permission to produce, sell, buy and use explosive substances is granted by the central institutions or by the executive committees of the district people's councils, and permission to keep and transport them, by the internal affairs organ of the respective district.

## Article 10

The place for the construction of depots for storing explosive substances will be determined by a commission consisting of representatives of the executive committee of the district people's council, the enterprise, institution, farm cooperative or social organization, and of the district branch of Internal Affairs, taking into consideration the total safety of inhabited centers, the places of work and passers-by on the main roads.

## Article 11

The depots for explosive substances must fulfill the following technical protective conditions:

- a) Depots on the surface or half underground will be surrounded with wire or with a wall not less than 1.70 meters high and at a distance of not less than 40 meters from the nearest building of the depot.
- b) Depots on the surface or half underground will be secured against electric discharges by installing lightning rods.
- c) The electric lighting of the depot will be circular [rrethor] and in conformity with the conditions of technical safety from electric discharges.
- d) Depots will be equipped with all necessary means for extinguishing fires and will have warning signs such as "forbidden zone," "passage forbidden," and so forth.
- e) The guard station will be outside the enclosed territory, while the place where the packages are kept will not be nearer than 50 meters to the enclosure.
- dh) The territory of the depot within the enclosure and that outside of the enclosure to a distance of 10 meters must be cleared of trees, grass and other objects that are easily inflammable. A ditch 1 meter wide and deep will be dug all around the wire (on the outside) where the ground is not rocky.

## Article 12

The explosives will be loaded, unloaded and stored in the depots in strict accordance with the technical norms for their capacities and distances of location. It is forbidden to store explosives of different groups together in one place.

## Article 13

Explosives will be transported by special means and in a regular technical condition, equipped with fire-fighting gear and accompanied by firemen. The technical state of the automotive equipment will be controlled by the technical controller, notations being made on the travel sheet.

The directors of the motor vehicles transporting the explosives will have a work record of not less than 3 years.

Other cargoes and passengers will not be allowed simultaneous transportation on vehicles loaded with explosives. Those vehicles are forbidden to stop in cities or other inhabited places, or in parks, garages or shops.

It is forbidden to transport explosives in buses, cars, gas tankers or other passenger and self-unloading vehicles. It is not allowed to transport percussion caps and various explosives in trailers. When, for justified reasons, explosives are not delivered to a warehouse, they must be provided with an armed guard.

Explosives will be transported to work sites with the factory's packing (in chests) or special proper bags by firemen or other instructed workers under the supervision of the firemen.

It is forbidden to transport percussion caps with the same vehicle together with the various explosives.

## Article 14

The following rules will be applied in unloading and loading explosives from transport ships:

- a) Ships loaded with explosives will be allowed to enter the slips after the unloading workers and motor vehicles have first been provided for the transportation of the explosive.
- b) Ships loaded with explosives will be berthed in port at a distance not closer than 20 meters from other ships.
- c) Vehicles and other persons not engaged in unloading these explosives will not be allowed to move about in the vicinity of ships that are being unloaded.

- d) Before unloading the ships, the workers will be given instructions and provided with special tools and clothing.
- e) No work will be allowed in the other compartments of the ship before completion of the unloading of the explosives. In case of suspension of the unloading of explosives, the ship must be taken out into the roadstead.
- dh) During the time that ships are standing in a slip, an armed guard and cars of the MKZ [expansion unknown] will be posted near them.

It is forbidden to leave explosives in a depot, vehicles or other places outside the territory of the port.

### III. On Powerful Poisonous Substances

#### Article 15

Powerful poisonous substances are defined as those substances which are determined by the Ministry of Internal Affairs in cooperation with the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of Agriculture, the Ministry of Industry and Mines, the Ministry of Education and Culture, the Ministry of the Light and Food Industries.

#### Article 16

Permission to produce and use powerful poisonous substances will be granted by the central institutions or by the executive committees of the people's councils of the respective districts.

Permission to transport these substances will be granted by the respective sections of the executive committees of the district people's councils, which are obliged to inform the district branch of Internal Affairs whenever they grant permission to withdraw and transport powerful poisons.

#### Article 17

The site for construction of the depots will be determined by a commission composed of representatives of the executive committee of the district people's council, the enterprise, institution, farm cooperative or social organization, and of the district branch of Internal Affairs.

Depots of powerful poisonous substances will be enclosed with wire or a fence, at a distance of not less than 3 meters from the depot building. A deep ditch not less than 50 cm wide will be dug all around the depot. The guardpost will be outside the enclosure of the depot.

#### Article 18

Powerful poisonous substances for health, veterinary and laboratory purposes will be kept in safes, safe metal cabinets or set in the wall.

the keys to which will be kept by the responsible persons or others substituting for them, and will be handed over to them with a proper document.

#### Article 19

In depots for powerful poisonous substances it is forbidden:

- a) to keep powerful poisonous substances unpackaged and unlabeled;
- b) to keep non-powerful poisons and herbicides together;
- c) to keep food products, fodders and seeds;
- c) to admit other persons not provided with a certificate of fitness or not having the right of control.

#### Article 20

Powerful poisonous substances, when unloaded from ships, will be transported directly to the respective depots of the supplying enterprises or to those of the producers with special vehicles and with a goods escort. It is forbidden to leave powerful poisons in depots, automotive vehicles or other places outside the port territory.

Instructions will be given to the workers engaged in unloading and loading these substances before the unloading is begun.

#### Article 21

Powerful poisonous substances that have decayed and those which are worthless, as well as the packings which are not used for other purposes, will, after disinfection, be destroyed and buried in suitable places, with an authenticated official report, by special commissions composed of specialists and workers from the enterprise, institution, farm cooperative or social organization, and protective measures will be taken to avoid danger to human beings and animals.

#### Article 22

Those who use powerful poisons will be provided with clothing and means of personal protection such as smocks, masks (cotton wadding), gloves, goggles, boots, which must be suited to the type of poison and the character of the work performed with them. The clothing and protective gear will be placed in special secure rooms after performance of the work.

Engagement in the use of these substances is forbidden to those who have not completed their 16th year, to pregnant women and those with breastfed

(with the exception of workers in the health sector), to persons who have sores on uncovered parts of the body, as well as to those who are forbidden to work with poisons on the basis of a medical report.

#### Article 23

Solutions of powerful poisonous substances will be prepared by the farms in places designated by the village people's council, far away from inhabited centers, springs, reservoirs, water holes, canals and ditches with running water. Upon the completion of the work, these places will be deactivated in accordance with the instructions of the Ministry of Agriculture.

During the use of these substances, protective measures will be taken in conformity with the respective regulations to avoid danger to human beings and animals.

#### IV. Final Provisions

##### Article 24

The production, storage, use, sale, purchase, guarding and administration of powerful explosive and poisonous substances by military units will be done according to the special instructions of the Ministry of the People's Defense, which will be issued on the basis and in execution of this order.

##### Article 25

Those who violate the provisions of this order and the special regulations will, when the act does not constitute a crime, be fined administratively up to 500 leks by the district chief of police, and soldiers by the respective technical chief of the military unit or detachment. Complaint against these decisions may be lodged within 5 days from the date of notification, respectively with the chairman of the district branch of Foreign Affairs or with the command of the military detachment or unit, whose decision will be final.

Concerning the violation of the provisions of this order and the special regulations, the workers of the people's police, the technical safety inspectors, the agronomists and the technical safety chiefs of the military detachments and units have the right to keep on official record.

The workers of the people's police have the right to impose a fine of 10 leks on the spot for the violation of the provisions contained in articles 6, 7, 11, letter "dh," 13, 18, 19 and 22 of this order, as well as for those defined in the special regulations.

---

## Article 26

The executive committees of the district people's councils, the Internal Affairs organs, the technical safety inspectors of the ministries and the other central institutions, as well as the controlling organs of the Ministry of the People's Defense, upon noting violations that present a pronounced danger of explosion or poisoning, have the right to interrupt the production, storage, transportation and use of powerful explosives and poisons until any possible danger has been removed.

## Article 27

The Ministry of Industry and Mines in cooperation with the Ministry of Construction, the Ministry of Communications and the Directorate General of the Communal Economy are charged with issuing regulations on the production, storage, guarding, use, transportation and administration of powerful explosive substances, on the basis and for the full execution of this order, while the Ministry of Agriculture in cooperation with the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of the Light and Food Industries, the Ministry of Education and Culture and the Directorate General of the Communal Economy is similarly charged with regard to poisonous substances.

## Article 28

Government Order No. 5 dated 17 September 1971 "On Powerful Explosives and Poisons" is hereby rescinded.

## Article 29

This order will go into effect 15 days after publication in the Official Gazette.

[signed] The Chairman of the Council of Ministers (Mehmet Shehu)

10,002  
CSO: 2100

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

FRG PAPER REPORTS CHARTER 77 DOCUMENT NUMBER SIX

Measures Against Signers, Sympathizers

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 18 Feb 77 p 6

[Unattributed article: "Release of Civil Rights Advocates Demanded: 'Charter' Spokesmen Turn to the Authorities/Document No 6"]

[Text] Prague, 17 February (DPA [German Press Agency]/AFP [French Press Agency]). The spokesmen of the "Charter 77" Czechoslovak Human Rights Movement, Jiri Hajek and Jan Patocka, have requested the Prague authorities to release the human rights activists Vaclav Havel, Ota Orneste, Frantisek Pavlicek, and Jiri Lederer who were arrested on 14 January. In a new "Document No 6," which was passed on to Western correspondents in Prague on Thursday, we read the following passage: "If the agencies of justice, according to the status of investigations, have arrived at the view that release is out of the question, then they should let the public know the reasons for the arrest and for criminal prosecution. Otherwise public opinion will be confirmed in its view that the arrests are connected with 'Charter 77' which does not represent a criminal act and which is not being prosecuted under criminal law."

In a review of events since early January, the document reports on government measures against the signers of the human rights manifesto and their sympathizers. The signers are being hit with summary firings, interrogations, and house searches as well as the withdrawal of their driver's licenses and personal identity papers. Those who refused to sign protests against the "Charter" were either fired from their jobs or were given a warning. "We present this review in order to give those, who would still like to sign the 'Charter 77' a clear picture so that they may thereupon better determine their relationships to the 'Charter,'" it says at the end of the document.

A high school teacher from Southern Bohemia recently lost his job because he refused to sign a protest against "Charter 77"--according to well informed circles in Prague. High school teacher, Jan Urban, who taught in Prachatice, was informed in a letter from his appropriate authority, that he had been fired on the spot. By refusing to sign the petition against

the "Charter 77" he not only violated the rules of his occupation but also failed to do his job in teaching and educating the students in the spirit of socialist society, it says in the letter from the government agency.

#### Four Remain in Detention

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 21 Feb 77 p 17

[Article signed "hpr:" "Prague's Coercive Detention"]

[Text] In its "Document No 6," the Czechoslovak Human Rights Movement "Charter 77" a few days ago compiled the reprisals taken by government agencies against the signers since 5 January (see FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE, 18 February). Interrogations, withdrawal of driver's licenses and identity papers, ban on using their cars, telephones disconnected, mail withheld, threatening letters by the baskets--these are the measures to which the majority is subjected. Four human rights activists--including one of them who did not sign the "Charter" at all--were particularly hard hit: they have been under investigative detention since 14 January. A political example is obviously to be made of Vaclav Havel, Jiri Lederer, Ota Ornert, and Frantisek Pavlicek. The fact that none of the four has so far been able to get a lawyer to be present during the interrogations, that none of them has so far been allowed to receive visits from his relatives, and that their attorneys so far likewise have not been told what the prisoners are charged with specifically--that allows no interpretation other than that they are political prisoners. If Vaclav Havel, the world famous dramatist, has really violated Czechoslovakia's criminal laws--as was stated by Czechoslovakia's Deputy Foreign Minister Spacil in Stockholm--then it is a mystery why the Office of the Attorney General in Prague did not charge him specifically long ago. After all, there would be no easier way to discredit one of the three official spokesmen of "Charter 77" in public. In truth, this would once again seem to involve this human rights movement. This is pointed up by the first comments in the country's press after Havel's arrest which talked about serious "crimes against the protection of the state." The accusation pattern was tried out earlier during the 1972 political trials: any opposition statement is interpreted as objective damage to the state interests of Czechoslovakia and is punished draconically. The journalist Jiri Lederer, for the second time within a few years, faces the same charge. The most dangerous accusation is made against Ota Ornert--a theater director--who is charged with espionage. But even before the investigation had been completed, Czechoslovak TV already showed pictures of an allegedly conspiratorial meeting between Ornert and a Canadian diplomat who in the meantime has left Prague. This kind of action does not exactly point to a fair trial in keeping with the rules of a government of laws. Before the letter from German and Swiss authors, reprinted on this page, British theater people and writers already came out in support of the four prisoners; they too start with the connection between the arrest and the Charter and there can presently be no doubt as to that. Havel and his three fellow prisoners are in a kind of temporary detention which at the same time is supposed to be a warning to the other signers and spokesmen of the Charter. Protests, such as the

letter to the attorney general, are probably written to give the Prague justice agencies no opportunity for secret trials: the demand for a fair trial according to the rules of a government of law reportedly also includes the admission of a trial observer from Amnesty International." The trial of the pop musicians last year showed that public attention in the West has prevented the very worst from happening to the accused.

5058  
CSO: 2300

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CZECHOSLOVAK MEDIA ASSAIL KOHOUT AND VACULIK

Kohout Has Improper Contacts Abroad

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 12 Feb 77 p 7

[Article by (rsk): "Instructions for Walter Kratzer"]

[Text] On 15 January of this year Mr Walter Kratzer, a reporter of the West German picture magazine STERN, was leaving Czechoslovakia after his visit as a newspaperman. During his stay in Prague, he was collecting material for a news report on Czechoslovakia, material which he found useful for the pack of lies which he then published in the STERN in the second half of January.

Among other people Kratzer met with Pavel Kohout who granted him an interview and, as he himself said, sent cassettes with tapes to the West by some other way, it is not difficult to guess how.

Mr Kratzer did not have a clean conscience and was aware why he was going to Prague and whom his "journalist visit" served. This was revealed by an internal letter giving instructions what he was to do in our country and whom he was to see. The letter says:

"The best contact is the writer Ivan Klima, Prague 4, Nad lesem 8, Tel. 48 12 64. Klima signed the Charter 77, knows all signatories and is a close friend of the authors of the 'Prague Spring.' He will open doors for you. Should you be unable to reach Klima contact Klima's friend, the American actress Marlene Manchini who lives in the Intercontinental Hotel. After your return from Prague immediately inform Mr Braunschweiger please, from the Reich Verlag Publishers in Luzern, publishers of the Prague writers... Please send regards to Kohout from Braunschweiger."

The letter also contains addresses and telephone numbers of Jiri Hajek, Vaclav Havel, Karel Kosik, Ludvik Vaculik, Frantisek Kriegl and Alexander Klement and ends with the sentence:

"To make sure, here is also Jiri Pelikan's telephone number in Rome: 654 22 28."

This letter with instructions was confiscated during Kratzer's customs inspection. It reveals with whom are in touch those who pretend to be fighters for the human rights and who in reality are a bunch of wrecks and political adventurers.

Kratzer, Pelikan, Hajek, Havel, Vaculik and others are, therefore, in the same boat. And who is this Mr Braunschweiger who waits so impatiently for news from Prague? Only a manager of the publishing house C. J. Bucher in Luzerne? It is known, of course, that this publishing house is being funded by the West German intelligence service Bundesnachrichtendienst. Nothing more needs to be said.

#### Vaculik Attacked for His DIE WELT Interview

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 24 Feb 77 p 2

[Article by (dra): "The Continuation of the Same"]

[Text] There are plenty of presumptuous people, but only Ludvik Vaculik manages to have his photograph taken even while relieving himself in that most intimate of rooms in order to save for posterity every detail of the life of a "great man." Therefore, it is no surprise that in Springer's reactionary "world newspaper" DIE WELT (which also published an interview with Kriegl and is obviously becoming the most favorite platform of these renegades) he feels uniquely qualified to judge from this vantage point that after Helsinki he "noted no change--certainly not in his neighborhood," and to classify politicians into good ones and bad ones and make judgments about who should and should not remain in power. Of course, the good ones are the ones from 1968. He exonerates them: "Their failure had to be attributed to the fact that they lacked experience." And then he proclaims: "We have stuck to our line. Not we--but our environment has changed... What happened in 1968 and what has come to pass now is no sudden development but the same continuation of the same matter."

And this is a rare admission from this author of the counterrevolutionary 2000 Words and now again coauthor of the slanderous "Charter." He is proving that he and his cohorts would even today like to carry on this subversive activity which years ago brought our country to the brink of catastrophe, but that "the environment" no longer gives them the right opportunity. And so all he can do is show off his elitist arrogance only in that intimate room and relieve his anger in the reactionary sewers of DIE WELT.

## Further Attacks on Vaculik

Prague LIDOVÁ DEMOKRACIE in Czech 1 Mar 77 p 4

[Article by (CTK) [The Czechoslovak News Agency]: "'Political' Debates of L. Vaculik"]

[Text] Once again, Ludvik Vaculik left for a while the hard labor of a woodcutter somewhere in North Bohemia and started again a political debate, this time in the reactionary Hamburg magazine DIE WELT.

Among other things he claims that the situation in our country is allegedly again fluid, only to say a few sentences further on that it is unnecessary to agitate broad masses and get them moving, that the failure of the politicians in 1968 must be attributed to their lack of experience and that new personalities are entering the scene, such as Professor Patocka, etc.

In short, Vaculik knows the world and knows exactly what the West German bourgeoisie wishes to hear. If need be Vaculik himself could be the editor of DIE WELT, DAS BILD, etc., because Ludvik Vaculik can sling dirt at anybody and anything, that much has to be admitted. Why deny him these undoubted qualities?

Some philosophers view the world as sub specie aeternitatis--from the viewpoint of eternity. Louis Vaculik looks at the world somewhat from below. Of course, from his peculiar "observation point"--meaning the latrine--he sees the world quite differently than we do who live an everyday life. Therefore, it is not surprising that Western newsmen eat up every word of his when he emerges from the inspirational bath called the latrine. As for example this sentence which he, for a change, sold to the French paper LE QUOTIDIEN DE PARIS--"Today's university students--read Czechoslovak--have worse handwriting than I had when I was 10 years old."

Therefore beware, students of Czechoslovak universities. Remember who is denigrating you in the eyes of French people. It is Ludvik Vaculik, a prodigy at the age of 10, a one time newspaperman and a bit of a writer who at the age of 50 made it all the way to becoming the first Czechoslovak photographic model, an editor of pornography and at the same time traitor of his country. Please repeat the words spelled out, especially the ones after -b-. You will find among them also an apt designation for Ludvik Vaculik and his accomplices.

And one more observation, Mr Vaculik. You are heaping dirt on your native country and boast at the same time that the people in your house and street continue to greet you deferentially. I do not believe it. Because anybody with only a bit of national pride and patriotic feeling must despise you.

8664  
CSO: 2400

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

WESTERN WRITERS APPEAL FOR RELEASE OF JAILED FOUR

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 21 Feb 77 p 17

[Letter to CSSR State Prosecutor General: "A Letter to Prague: Authors Call for Clarity"]

[Text] The Attorney General  
Czechoslovak Socialist Republic  
Praha 4, Namesti Hrdinu 1300

My dear Mr Attorney General!

The signers of this letter turn to you out of worry over the fate of four Czech citizens who have been under arrest in Prague since 14 January 1977. They are dramatists Vaclav Havel, journalist Jiri Lederer, and theater directors Frantisek Pavlicek and Ota Ornест.

Newspaper reports on these four prisoners so far do not clearly indicate what they are charged with. From a statement by Vaclav Havel's wife we can tell that the appropriate police station in Prague merely told her that her husband had "surrendered himself to the authorities." He was furthermore told that Havel's arrest was in no way connected with his signing the "Charter 77" and his job as spokesman of that human rights movement. Vaclav Havel's attorney was able to visit him, according to our information, only once during the 4 weeks of his imprisonment and he has so far not been allowed to be present during any of the interrogations of his client.

According to Article 72 of the Czech Criminal Code, the Prosecutor's Office is obligated to determine at all times whether the reasons for arrest still exist in the case of a person under investigative detention. You, Mr Attorney General, have the possibility, according to Article 73 of the Criminal Code, to discharge a prisoner under investigative detention from his imprisonment if, among other things, there is no danger of escape or concealment. We appeal to you to make use of this right and to release the four prisoners.

All of them are known to us and the public in our countries as outstanding representatives of Czech culture and as hitherto unblemished citizens

of their country, with great prestige beyond the borders of Czechoslovakia. It is inconceivable to us that they could have violated the provisions of the Criminal Code of Czechoslovakia and we are afraid that their imprisonment is politically motivated.

If there is any serious evidence against this arrest, we ask you immediately to file charges and then to guarantee the accused all constitutional rights. Until they have been sentenced lawfully in a fair trial based on the rules of a government of law, we will be most profoundly convinced as to the innocence of the prisoners.

According to international legal standards, investigative detention of more than 4 weeks is justified only if there is evidence as to a serious crime against the person under investigative detention.

In view of the numerous Czech press commentaries, especially on the person of dramatist Vaclav Havel, we are bound to get the impression that he has become a victim of political slander. We therefore appeal to you once again in all seriousness immediately to release Vaclav Havel, Jiri Lederer, Frantisek Pavlicek, and Ota Ornест especially since we are sure that these four men will not try to avoid a lawful trial and have no reason to fear such a trial.

Respectfully yours,

Carl Amery, Heinrich Boell, Friedrich Duerrenmatt, Max Frisch, Guenter Grass, Walter Jens, and Siegfried Lenz.

5058  
CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

IMPROVEMENT NEEDED IN AIR FORCES TECHNICAL SERVICES

East Berlin MILITAERTECHNIK in German No 1, Jan 77 pp 4-7

[Article by Col C. Kippenhahn: "Demands on the Aviation Engineering Service of the Air Forces Today and Tomorrow!"]

[Text] The Socialist Unity Party of Germany and the government of the GDR are constantly concerned with strengthening the defense potential of our socialist country in inseparable alliance with our Soviet comrades in arms and class and the countries of the Warsaw Pact states.

Consequently sufficient attention must be paid to continuing improvement of the common political and defense organization. Further strengthening of our defense readiness is a decisive future guarantee for the permanent safeguarding of peace and for creating favorable conditions for further development of the socialist world system.

As we continue to understand better how to do justice to the growing demands for class consciousness and the political and ideological hardening of servicemen, so will we use our present equipment with higher effectiveness and more quickly achieve the prescribed tactical and technical parameters in the complex of combat training with new weapon systems to be introduced.

1. New Quality of Aircraft Equipment

The aircraft equipment newly introduced into the air forces now displays a completely new quality with high tactical properties, more modern equipment and powerful weapon systems. In these, but in the aircraft equipment of the coming years in particular, flow together all new discoveries of the most varied branches of science such as electronics, cybernetics, metallurgy and the like.

Thus the prerequisites for future aircraft equipment, as well, will be excellent aerodynamic properties, high design strength of the airframe and high engine thrust with relatively low fuel consumption for long flights at speeds up to 3,000 km/h under conditions of more intensive aerodynamic heating. It is sufficient to state, and to refer to items previously published,

that during such flights certain structural parts of the airframe are heated to 300°C and this must be compensated by the use of appropriate materials.

The maximum range of third generation aircraft is roughly double that of present aircraft equipment. They have acceleration characteristics of a high degree and exceptional climbing capability. This is due primarily to the engine thrust being comparable with aircraft takeoff weight or even exceeding it. The new aircraft can fly at altitudes up to 30 km as well as at medium and low altitudes night and day under any weather conditions.

The employment of a wing with variable geometry was the prerequisite for a significant decrease in takeoff and landing distances and contributed significantly to the improvement of the aircraft's maneuvering capabilities. At the same time this formed the foundation for versatile combat employment.

Third generation aircraft are equipped with the most modern missiles, cannon and bomb armament. The useful payload of modern fighter-bombers has more than doubled over that carried by tactical bombers in World War II. But the destructive power of the weapons has increased by many times.

Modern combat aircraft are equipped with complicated automatic systems so as to take advantage of the increased tactical capabilities such as speed, increase of employment area and the associated complicated conditions under which flight missions must be accomplished. Integrated operation of systems on the basis of automatic computers makes it possible successfully to accomplish all tasks of steering, navigation and combat employment in an automatic mode.

The system of automatic flight control in all speed and altitude ranges, including extremely low altitudes also, guarantees automatic navigation. Without such systems flights at low altitudes by a number of the new generation aircraft would be practically impossible, particularly at night and under poor visibility.

Aircraft equipment is, under the present state of equipment, fully packed with radioelectronic systems in particular for various purposes. These consist of hundreds of thousands of components, which is possible only on the basis of microelectronics.

The equipping of modern combat aircraft with complicated, complex onboard systems which are functionally coupled with equipment for differing purposes and of different working principles has made it necessary for these aircraft to be prepared for flight by brigades consisting of specialists of the most varied skills. These brigades are equipped with multipurpose automatic control and testing stations. This means that the time has come when preparation of aircraft equipment for flight by single speciality brigades must give way to preparation by integrated brigades with precisely defined responsibilities.

## 2. New Equipment Places Higher Demands on All

The complexity, stratification and the depth of connections between the individual speciality areas of the systems and equipment belonging to the complex thus require fundamentally new control and preparation methods prior to use. Thereby arise new specific maintenance problems, new principles of organization must be established and demands increase on the control and measuring apparatus and particularly on the knowledge, ability and skills of engineering technical personnel.

A significant role in achieving high combat value is, of course, played by the mastery of the pilots, this now being determined to a decisive degree by the extent of mastery of aircraft equipment and by the ability to be able to correctly judge the status of aircraft equipment on the ground and in the air and to correctly act under special situations in flight. Success in combat preparation will go to the person who spends every free minute in improving his knowledge about new aircraft equipment. A pilot with old knowledge and experience will fail to meet the demands of future combat training and consequently no longer be able to accomplish his duties.

The state of takeoff and landing strips, taxiways, ready lines and parking places gains increasingly in significance with the new aircraft equipment to be introduced. A poor concrete surface and foreign objects and other destructive products on takeoff and landing strips as well as on taxiways lead to premature failure of very expensive engines and landing equipment. Thus the cleanliness of our airfields must occupy more and more of the attention of commanders and engineers. Only thus can high military economic damages be avoided.

For engineering technical personnel it is also important that they qualify themselves correctly to employ and use modern control and check apparatus and means of material control and evaluation of equipment status. Here a carefully thought out and discriminating system of technical preparation, individual and group continuation training and orientation, training and evaluation is required. The decisive factor here is that the air forces' educational establishments are already considering the new demands in the training process and this can be continued in the units.

There are, unfortunately, supervisors who fail to assign the appropriate significance to technical training. Their assessment is that engineering technical personnel are also engaged in training daily. But this is not so!

Engineering technical personnel do not accomplish the same work daily, do not use control and checking devices and do not continually make repairs. Furthermore skills are forgotten. Consequently technical training under the control of experienced specialists is absolutely necessary!

In this case particular attention is to be paid to training troops or specialist groups for preparing aircraft equipment when a higher stage of combat readiness is declared or for a deployment so as to be able correctly to accomplish all duties within the time ordered. To this end the good training bases already available in the units are to be further expanded so as to create all prerequisites for the necessary training.

All personnel of the aviation engineering service must not only completely master aircraft equipment but also the means for its inspection and preparation. Engineering technical personnel must be able expertly to use the new control and test apparatus and thereby learn the peculiarities of their employment so as to be able to accomplish the required work with high quality in the shortest possible time.

It is important here to find ways which guarantee the quickest possible assimilation of complex systems and possible ways to help overcome the apprehensions which arise in this period as a result of the complexity. One must learn to operate the multi-purpose stations. The effectiveness of aircraft operation thus depends not only on its speed, altitude and armament but also how fast and with what quality it can be prepared for a concrete combat mission and what efforts are required for this.

The intensity of utilization on a flying day and therefore the combat readiness of the flying unit is dependent on the aircraft preparation times for flights and particularly on the preparation times for repeated flights. Here it is in particular a question of fully using the possible flight time for the applicable training flight.

But the longer duration of each flight leads to a lesser expenditure of forces and means for combat readiness. This is achieved by flight service being scientifically planned and well prepared in terms of organization and the participating personnel having firm military discipline and order as well as having a high degree of readiness to support it.

The necessary work of a complex nature in servicing modern aircraft equipment and preparation of the same for flight by new methods gives rise to the question of the cooperation of specialists of the most varied areas. Both today and in the future the answer to this question is more important than ever since the quality of the work and the time required for it depends on the common efforts of all specialists.

This means that the sense of togetherness and collective responsibility for the assigned combat mission must be further developed and enhanced by all personnel of the aviation engineering service and also by supporting units.

Responsible commanders and engineers can guarantee all required work by specialists of the aviation engineering service and high work productivity only when expedient innovator and rationalizer work on the basis of genuine analytical activity in the unit is promoted. In this connection it is a case

---

of making clear to each individual the perception of his personal responsibility.

Technological plan charts and detailed technological cards for the mechanics and control cards for the leading engineering technical personnel help to support the necessary accuracy and regularity of all work. The ability to definitely and strictly accomplish in the prescribed time everything required by the documentation is a measure of technical culture and of their readiness to utilize modern aircraft equipment.

### 3. Increasing Responsibility of Aircraft Technicians and Engineers

The work of aircraft technicians deserves special attention. The role of the aircraft technician continues to grow despite the fact that the most varied types of ground and mobile control and check apparatus are used in preparing new aircraft equipment for flight.

He turns the aircraft over to the crew, helps the pilot get in and buckle up, helps in preparing the cockpit, the parachute and the seat as well as in starting the engine and closing the canopy.

He sees the mood and state of the pilot before the flight and has the chance to encourage him and to warn him of mistakes. When the authority of the aircraft technician is sufficiently clear and high in a unit, then this is actually the last reliable authority that clears the crew for flight. An exact recording of all remarks by the crew after each flight is extremely important. It helps to accumulate experience, to support pilot training and to make possible an actual evaluation of the state of aircraft equipment. It is, for example, useful when commanders and engineers listen to pilots in an atmosphere of mutual trust during which the flight performed must be exactly described with his impressions and doubts. These tasks are to be analyzed jointly and appropriate conclusions drawn for application.

It is, for example, also known that filtering of fuel and other special liquids is now twice as fine. These liquids, however, can be released for use only under continuous control at all stages prescribed in the documentation. Consequently aircraft technicians and the appropriate specialists must know very well the parameters that characterize the quality of fuels and lubricants, special liquids and technical gases.

Today the role of engineers at the engineer command posts to control engineering technical support has also further increased. Each leader of the aviation engineering service of the unit must make timely reports about the progress of aircraft equipment preparation and the shortcomings arising during this. Such well functioning "dispatcher points" are a visible support in improving work organization. A definite savings in time and decrease in labor for preparation of aircraft equipment has been achieved here.

#### 4. Observe Safety and Accident Prevention

The significance of maintaining safety regulations has also increased in the servicing of new aircraft equipment. This is associated with the concentration of a large number of control and check devices in a small area. There are also specific items in the preparation of fire control systems, radiating stations and the like. Often integrated brigades of various specialities are around the aircraft in addition to the aircraft technician. In this case the smallest lack of organization or skipping of controls can lead to crowding, confusion and mutual interference which, in turn, result in the laws of operational safety and safety protection being disregarded or violated.

The control documentation of the aviation engineering service also plays a not insignificant role in putting new aircraft equipment into operation. They are used to introduce measures which guarantee that causes of errors in aircraft equipment can be removed and technological processes in utilization be improved.

An exact analysis of all observations and indications by engineering technical personnel and pilots is required in order to be able to draw fundamental conclusions associated with the servicing and putting into operation of new aircraft. For this reason the fault description cards must contain very precise and as objectively and detailed as possible all information about the working modes of aircraft equipment, the influencing facts and conditions for putting into operation. All data from means of objective control must also be used for this analytical work.

Successful putting into operation of aircraft equipment is inconceivable without organizing effective repair or restoration of combat properties required in emergencies. Soviet experience in World War II has shown that, on the average, more than 40 aircraft repairs were required for every 100 combat missions. Maintaining of operational readiness of aircraft equipment at a high level is now possible thanks to the larger number of repair specialists in the units and the creation of prerequisites for troop maintenance. Furthermore the viability of much combat equipment has been increased by a multiple factor. The peculiarities of new equipment from the maintenance standpoint give rise to a number of complicated problems.

Whereas earlier damages were largely limited to the aircraft skin and one or two of its systems, now any damage has a complex nature because of the mass of systems, stations, aggregates and parts housed in a very tight space. A simple evaluation is no longer sufficient. A complex automatic examination is required.

Technology itself has had a profound effect on elimination of defects. Welding, for example, has replaced riveting as the main method for airframe repair. Modern means of maintenance are thus employed along with new equipment and this has led to the introduction of corresponding equipment and technological foundations. The accelerated assimilation of this equipment

and the mastering of modern methods for repair of aircraft equipment under field-like conditions must be conducted under the motto: "Every engineer, technician, mechanic and driver must be a highly qualified repair specialist." The theoretical and practical principles for this must be imparted in a real fashion beforehand in all speciality areas in the educational establishments of the air forces. This is a prerequisite for the practical employment in the variety of repairs to be encountered in field maintenance in the units. A larger role in training must likewise be given to practical mastering of the simplest and most frequent repairs such as sheathing cables and tubing, soldering, splicing, bending, riveting, gluing and the like. These skills are to be improved and better assimilated by technical training on combat flying days, on training days, technical control days and the like in the units and then maintained continually in a ready to use state at the newest level.

But also an all-around higher level in putting into operation and, consequently, a high level of technical culture is demanded from both engineering technical personnel and pilots.

High effectiveness of utilization of new aircraft equipment depends in each case on the people who master it, on their knowledge, their political clarity and their firmness. Here socialist competition acquires particular significance. Socialist competition must be aimed at solving the primary tasks of the aviation engineering service. With its help a degree of intensity is to be reached in which all forces and reserves for better balance and utilization of the knowledge potential, in particular, of available personnel are mobilized, working time is better balanced and preparation times are decreased. Socialist competition and the development of innovator work are to be rapidly and tangibly oriented to problems of engineering technical support as well as to the introduction of new experience and knowledge to improve the prevailing status.

##### 5. Conclusions

The primary problems of engineering technical support described here must be continually recognized and solved by all participants in the dynamic process of combat training. The main problem in this area lies in the ability to distinguish the dynamic from the hectic and not to produce the hectic by a dynamic style, this always having a damaging influence on the smooth course of engineering technical support. Within the framework introduction of means to mechanize time consuming work gains great significance. Here much depends on the chief of the unit's aviation engineering service and the commander of the control and repair squadron. It is their duty to direct the entire potential of innovator work to the creation of easily operated means of mechanization with small dimensions. These means support not only higher work productivity but also higher deployment readiness of a unit.

The construction of means of small mechanization and standardization of transportable test stands with small dimensions for flight and for periodic checks is the concern of all innovators of our air forces.

The experience collected in this area must be promptly and widely publicized. All necessary help and support for employment in the LSK/LV [air forces and air defense] as a whole must be guaranteed.

Correct leadership, guidance and organization of the processes of engineering technical support in accordance with the primary tasks of the aviation engineering service will today and in the future guarantee their continually increasing effectiveness and high combat readiness.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Ogotodow, I. "Discipline--A Factor of Victory," AVIATSIYA I KOSMONAVTIKA (Moscow), No 9, 1974.
2. Skubilin, B. "New Equipment--New Demands," AVIATSIYA I KOSMONAVTIKA (Moscow), No 7, 1975.
3. Fjodorow, B. "According to the Engineer's Schedule," AVIATSIYA I KOSMONAVTIKA (Moscow), No 11, 1976.
4. Kasarow, A. "For High Effectiveness in the Work of the FID [aviation engineering service]," AVIATSIYA I KOSMONAVTIKA (Moscow), No 12, 1975.
5. Medwedjew, A. "Personally Responsible," AVIATSIYA I KOSMONAVTIKA (Moscow), No 3, 1976.
6. Uraschzew, B. "For Excellent Results in Each Training Day," AVIATSIYA I KOSMONAVTIKA (Moscow), No 5, 1976.
7. Singajewski, A. "Increasing Effectiveness," AVIATSIYA I KOSMONAVTIKA (Moscow), No 6, 1976.
8. Kippenhahn, C. "Technical Training of Engineering Technical Personnel of the LSK [air forces]," MILITAERTECHNIK (Berlin), No 8, 1968.
9. Kippenhahn, C. "On Certain Problems of the Development of Fighter Forces Equipment," MILITAERTECHNIK (Berlin), No 12, 1975.
10. "Improvement of the Quality of Flight Planning," MORSKOY SBORNIK (Moscow), No 3, 1968.

8373

CSO: 2300

HUNGARY

PARTY MEMBERSHIP CARD EXCHANGE RESULTS DISCUSSED

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 28 Jan 77 p 3

[Interview with Bela Hary, first secretary of the Gyor-Soprom Megye MSZMP Committee, by Eva Terenyi: "Enriched With Experiences"]

[Text] A significant event in the party's life: the exchanging of membership books, was concluded in the recent past with the membership meetings where the new membership books were given out. Drawing the political lessons from the action, using the party membership's opinion and suggestions in the everyday activity of the party organs is time-consuming work. How is all this done in a megye's party committee, what significance is attributed here to the things said during the conversations with the party members, how did the exchanging of membership books contribute to the upswing of the megye's political life--these are the things we talked about with Comrade Bela Hary, first secretary of the Gyor-Sopron Megye Party Committee. Our first question was: "What has happened thus far with the suggestions made during the conversations?"

This Was Our Yardstick

"Our executive committee at the time took a stand in such a way that the conversation must also touch upon, how the party membership measures up at its own post," began comrade Bela Hary. "To wit, the Communist can only achieve appreciation for himself, his word will only have credit, if he performs the work assigned to him without exception. We emphasized this because we thought the conversations could not in any way be exchanges of opinion conducted solely about 'pure party work,' and the true measure of success is their contribution to the consistent execution of the resolutions of the 11th congress.

"Thus this has been our yardstick from the beginning. If we now compare the results of this, and if even from this we evaluate only the most important thing, the realization of the economic policy goals, we must speak of the megye's party membership with sincere appreciation. In what the workers of Gyor-Sopron Megye achieved in 1976, in standing their ground with great self-sacrifice, the showing of example by the Communists is faithfully reflected.

"And now I return to the question posed: what has become the fate of the suggestions? The jaras and the municipal party committees have now worked out their 1977 work plans. In these, those tasks which evolved from the conversations must occupy the central position. That is to say, the party membership must see and feel, what was said must not fall on deaf ears. This is the testing block of the entire action. The megye's party organizations have collected the membership's observations, and except for those taken care of on the spot, have forwarded them to the highest party organs. From the administrative side, all the conditions exist to give answers, or to put the suggestions to use. This work, which is continuously being checked by the megye's party committee, has begun within the party organs."

#### Holding Responsible and Preventing

[Question] What are the more important lessons drawn by the megye's party committee from the conversations held with the Communists?

[Answer] It is commonly known that not only the party membership but the entire population agrees with our party's political line, with the resolutions of the 11th congress. This obligates us even more to carry out the good policy consistently and without any distortion, faithfully to show this has become defined as a need in the entire party's public opinion. Actually the majority of the phenomena mentioned by the party members is connected exactly to the execution. This will confirm for us that we must not only maintain the characteristic activeness of party work, we must also strengthen it. What do we mean by this? We mean that the party organs are responsible at every level for executing the good policy and they cannot watch without action if they experience a practice deviating from this. Let's take an example.

In 1976 our party committee, together with the council organs and the appropriate experts, suggested overseeing fertilizer storage in the megye's producing cooperatives. Practical experience moved us to do this. Many times we have seen that when a sack of produce lying in the TSZ's yard is noticed, mostly let's say, by the team driver, he will move it to a safe place; but no one cares about broken sacks of fertilizer, though they represent larger value than sacks of produce. Not to mention that as the result of careless, improper storage the effectiveness of fertilizer declines so much. The country loses considerable sums through this, and the valuable work of workers working in the industry is lost with it. But the majority of the TSZ's do not yet appreciate this. Therefore, with the overseeing we wanted not only to call their attention to careful and proper storage but also endeavored to form their outlook.

I can mention examples from other areas also. This is because the party membership's critical observations were not limited to problems appearing in the economic work of carrying out the policy. They have judged strongly those immoral occurrences, for example, with which we met in the case of some of our

party members who have for the moment forgotten about themselves. The communist collectives requested that we take steps against such phenomena in a timely and decisive manner and that we pursue all of the consequences of this type of occurrence. The megye's party committee endeavors to do just this. In the recent past, for example, the manager of one of our significant industrial plants, in order to have his enterprise win the [coveted] title of "leading plant," committed and overlooked cheating. Among other things, they altered accident statistics, denying the accidents which had happened. The case caused great commotion, and upon the forceful taking of positions by the authorities the manager had to answer before the court as well as before the party. He was expelled from the party, removed from his function and also received a prison term. Another recent case belongs to one of our TSZ presidents, who in addition is also a member of the megye's party committee. Thus far we have known him as an excellent man, a good leader. But we have found out about him that even though he has a very significant income, while he used his own car to take care of the TSZ's business he filled out fictitious trip reports and unjustifiably accepted money for kilometers not driven. I think it is obvious that in this case the material damage is minuscule when compared to the moral damage. Action is currently under way to have the individual answer to the state and the party.

Thus the megye's party committee, as illustrated by the two examples above, is not lenient in the matters mentioned and in similar ones. We consider it desirable that this should be so at every level of the party's work, including the plant party committees and the basic organs, where such taking of stands is unfortunately still rare and where more could be done in the interest of prevention. The issue frequently crops up in conversations that we should help in preserving respect for the Communists and that we should not allow the occasional occurrence in some places of moods contrary to the leadership catching hold. But where could such a mood most likely prevail? Obviously where they tolerate moral offenses similar to those mentioned above for a long time, where the act of holding responsible is omitted.

#### Cadre Work, Replacements

[Question] It happens frequently that the installation of someone into a leading post suddenly becomes necessary, but the local leadership--including the party organization--is practically helpless. They have omitted to prepare a young person with ability in time. Did the conversations prove this experience?

[Answer] Completely. One of the old weaknesses of our cadre work has been that we move in tight circles when it comes to training the new generation. And the experiences of the conversations have also shown again and again: there are masses of people around us who have the ability and education, who are not afraid to make the sacrifice to do something for the common cause, but so far they just have not been noticed. One of the great lessons for the party organizations is: they must get to know the individual people much better. The other one, perhaps even more important than this, is that the

many deserving people, the new activists whom the party organizations came to know during the exchange of membership books, should be given assignments, should be counted on in preparing educational plans, in training replacements.

In connection with cadre work, I would mention another experience: the conversations with party members in leadership positions, and belonging under the authority of higher party organs. Besides the words of appreciation they have also really received criticism in many places, and mainly good advice from their own basic organization. Those remarks are particularly to be taken to heart which pointed out to them that they should spend more time among the workers. Those who voiced this need were not urging some sort of formal connection between the people in leadership roles and the subordinates. On the contrary, they emphasized the moral-political value hidden in such meetings.

#### To Be Better Informed

In conclusion I would like to mention another important experience of the conversation, which has an ever-increasing role in carrying out the party's policy without distortion. And this is being informed about the local issues--more accurately, the all-too-frequent failure to be so informed. In a large portion of the cases the workers know nothing about why at the given place of work the party organization or even the economic management in a certain issue has taken a certain stand or made a certain decision and why not otherwise. And because they are not familiar with the reasons, they do not really feel those decisions to be their own, those tasks for the solution of which they should really be working with all their powers. This results in much tension, unnecessary and futile arguments and poor public morale. The solution is simple: the practice must be made universal that the party committee meetings in every case should be followed by the secretary's conferences of the basic organizations, and in the basic organizations after the leadership meetings the party group leaders should be called together. And in every forum the reason must be given why they made a decision in a certain way, as they did in the given case. This is an important organizational assurance of the party unity, that the decisions made by the local party organizations should really correspond to the national political decisions.

"In summarizing the experiences of the conversations conducted with the party membership, we may conclude; these exchanges of opinion have not only provided an upswing and enrichment for Gyor-Sopron megye's political life, even more important than this they have urged the Communists practically everywhere toward action, toward better work. Those initiatives following the action of the exchange of membership books also prove this--for example, at the councils and at some party committees--which witness the far-reaching utilization of the political experiences of the exchanging of membership books. This means initiatives which--to continue with our example--can contribute to the higher quality of activity of the party and council bodies, to the further strengthening of the connection with the masses, to paying increased attention to the opinion of the workers," said Bela Hary in conclusion.

---

HUNGARY

GOALS OF FIFTH FIVE-YEAR PLAN REVIEWED

Budapest TARSADALMI SZEMLE in Hungarian No 1, Jan 77 pp 3-16

[Article by Karoly Nemeth, a secretary of the Central Committee of the MSZMP: "All Strength for the Fulfillment of the Fifth Five-Year Plan!"]

[Text] In December of last year the Central Committee of our party heard a report concerning the expected fulfillment of the 1976 annual plan and approved the guiding principles and chief indicators for the 1977 annual economic plan and state budget. In accordance with this the Council of Ministers finalized the plan and issued the resolutions for its execution. The National Assembly passed into law the proposal submitted for the state budget.

I.

The 1976 annual economic plan designated as chief tasks an improvement in planning, an improvement in efficiency, an expansion of domestic utilization which would be less than the increase in the national income, a significantly swifter growth of export in non-ruble accounts and a greater than earlier centralization of social net income. On the basis of all this we wanted to achieve an improvement in the balance of the people's economy and a moderation of the deficit in the state budget.

According to data not yet complete we were not able to fulfill completely the chief indicators of the 1976 annual economic plan. The increase in industrial production did not reach the planned 6 percent and agricultural production, instead of increasing by the planned 4 percent, remained at the level of the preceding year. In such circumstances it is understandable that national income exceeds that of 1975 by about 4 percent as compared to the planned 5.5 percent growth. The increase in production and national income smaller than planned made possible a rise in the living standard which was less than prescribed.

In agriculture it was before all else the capricious weather which caused the shortfall from the plan. The production shortfall significantly held

back the production of the food industry. In recent years changes have taken place in the world economy which caused significant losses to our people's economy and the unfavorable effect of these appeared in 1976 too.

There can be no doubt that factors beyond our control held back and made difficult our development. This is the chief reason why we did not succeed in achieving the goals planned for 1976 in every area. But there were also hindering factors, and more than a few of them, which cannot be ascribed to the changed world economic situation or the weather. It is a fact that the level and discipline of guidance and execution work often lagged behind what was required. Still, if we compare the 1976 achievements with the unfavorable circumstances noted above we can consider last year's development fundamentally satisfactory.

The chief trends of development correspond to our economic policy goals. Processes are developing which can provide a foundation for the improvement in the economic balance situation prescribed in the Fifth Five-Year Plan. The efficiency of production has increased and the increase in national income came entirely from an increase in productivity. We can report initial results in savings of materials and energy, in management of reserves and in the development of an economical production structure. The agricultural operations made effective efforts to moderate the drouth damage and to solve timely tasks. Material and energy supply during the year was fundamentally balanced. Our capitalist foreign trade deficit was smaller than in the preceding year and under present circumstances this can be regarded as no mean achievement.

The chemical industry and electric power industry increased their production to a degree exceeding that planned. Machine industry production reached the planned level. Growth was less than prescribed in mining, metallurgy, the construction materials industry and light industry. Production of the food industry remained at the 1975 level. A moderation in the growth of domestic demand played a role in the smaller than planned output of some branches, as did the smaller than prescribed increase in capitalist export. In the food industry the shortage of raw materials played the crucial role. In light industry it was primarily the shortage of labor which held back fulfillment of tasks.

It is gratifying that modernization of the production structure is beginning to come into the fore in the work of more and more enterprises. But we cannot be satisfied because the development of an economical production and marketing structure lags behind not only what is needed but also behind what is possible.

This suggests that in many places they have not yet recognized that the key problem for our economic development is a swifter increase in the ratio of good quality, economically producible and competitive products. There is need in this area for action on the basis of a balanced view and concrete programs. It is a phenomenon not to be underestimated, indeed it is

instructive, that production structure is changing more significantly primarily in areas where new capacity has been put into operation as a result of central developmental programs or reconstruction begun earlier.

The output of the construction industry lagged behind what was planned. But it is a favorable phenomenon that even in these circumstances the housing construction prescription was fulfilled and even a few more dwellings than planned were built. The preparation of housing construction areas and the pace of housing deliveries, however, are still not adequate and work discipline and utilization of work time are not satisfactory. The organization of finishing work often lags behind the possibilities provided by modern construction technologies and the utilization of construction industry machines is at a low level.

The personnel, technical and material conditions needed for the 4 percent increase in agricultural production were available. But production reached only the 1975 level. The unfavorable weather was basically the cause of the shortfall from the plan but there were also guidance and management deficiencies.

We can count it as an achievement that we harvested more bread grains than planned, a crop larger than ever before. The average yield of wheat was 38.8 quintals per hectare. Hog stocks increased significantly. Milk production, despite the decreasing cow stocks, increased due to a considerable growth in yields. Vegetables, crops harvested in the fall including corn, sugar beets, and grape production, however, were lower than planned. From time to time the shortfall in agricultural production caused hold ups in domestic supply, decreased exports and made necessary imports above the plan.

Last year the party and government dealt circumspectly to discover the causes of problems appearing in animal raising and vegetable production and took measures to increase the level of interest in their production and to improve production and marketing. Effective efforts were made in large scale agricultural operations to fill unused animal capacities. Reconstruction expansion was placed in the foreground. At the same time backwardness could be experienced in the initiation of new investments serving the development of animal raising. It was an unfavorable factor that while the conditions did exist for it the use of artificial fertilizer increased to a smaller degree than planned. But it was a favorable factor that the state farms and cooperatives aided in a more organized manner than before the production of household plot and auxiliary farms and the marketing of their products. This trend must be strengthened and should become permanent.

Transportation developed in harmony with our economic policy goals. The ratio of diesel and electric haulage grew further, highway transportation expanded and was modernized and the quality of service improved. Goods transportation tasks were fulfilled as a whole. Problems were caused by the fact that goods transportation demands appeared unevenly.

Overcrowding in mass transportation was decreased by modernization of the autobus park and by traffic organization measures. By the end of the year, primarily in the capital, the modernization of a number of roads was completed and a new section of the metro was delivered. The new large capacity radio transmitter at Solt was completed before the time limit at a cost less than planned within the framework of Hungarian-Soviet cooperation.

The 1976 annual plan had prescribed an increase in domestic use--accumulation and consumption--of a smaller magnitude than that of the national income. In essence we held to this requirement. In accordance with what was planned we devoted 150 billion forints to investment. This made possible the prescribed development of fixed assets. Completion of the large investments chosen for acceleration progressed according to plan. This is a favorable phenomenon in our investment activity. In 1976, of the large investments to be initiated, preparation and execution of the Zalaegerszeg Cold-Storage Plant and the polypropylene factory of the Tisza Chemical Combine went according to schedule but a delay developed in investment at the converter steel works of the Danube Iron Works. In addition we began investments at the Kaba Sugar Factory and the Budapest Trash Burning Works. The equipment for the Kaba Sugar Factory comes from socialist imports and much of the work is being done with Polish cooperation. The new sugar factory will make possible the processing of sugar beets in a shorter time. Creation of the trash burning works is justified for environmental protection reasons.

There was lively interest in investment credits serving to increase export goods which can be sold for convertible foreign exchange. Of the 45 billion forints of credit prescribed for this purpose in the Fifth Five-Year Plan 30 billion forints have already been awarded on the basis of bids submitted and 6.5 billion forints of this was actually granted last year. The average repayment time of the foreign exchange for investments supported by credit is 2.5 years. The export increasing effect of these investments will be noticeable largely only in the second half of the plan period. It is important that the conditions attached to the credit be strictly adhered to and that those cooperating in the investment aid to a maximum degree the placing into operation of the planned capacities within the time limits.

Among investments under way there are an increasing number which are being put into operation with good preparation, within the time limits and with the planned capacity and holding to the prescribed costs. But the technical and economic preparation and execution of a large number of the investments are still not satisfactory. There is still greater activity in getting the money than there is in a planned realization of the investments. Although party and government resolutions prescribe the creation of joint interest of investors, planners and contractors in a rational and less costly execution of investments there still has not been substantial progress in this area. It must be stated by way of condemnation that the responsible state organs have still not enforced the requirement that authoritative authorization procedures should be accelerated and that social, health, environmental protection, fire department and other normative prescriptions should be brought into harmony with our economic possibilities thus ending excesses which derive from unjustified caution or obsolete requirements.

We have mentioned that due to the smaller than planned increase in production and national income the standard of living of the populace could increase in 1976 only in a more moderate way than planned. The smaller than prescribed increase in real income and real wages reflects a loss of income due to the lower agricultural production and the fact that the consumer price level increased somewhat more than planned.

Consumption by the populace exceeded that of the previous year by 2.6 percent. Basically we guaranteed the harmony of purchasing power and goods supply and the supply of goods to the populace was essentially balanced. We should note that this was done under economic conditions which were not easy. Some of the shortage articles were made up or the shortages were de- by increasing domestic production, by better use of local goods and by in- creasing the import of consumer articles. We satisfied the needs of the populace for all the more important foodstuffs. The supply of industrial articles was satisfactory with a few exceptions--e.g., some installation and construction materials. The greatest problem, especially in the first half of the year, was caused by deficient vegetable and potato supplies. Despite greater than planned imports we could not always continually satisfy the needs of the populace for these.

The increase in the consumer price level exceeded the prescribed 4.5 percent. The chief factor in this was the greater than anticipated increase in vege- table and fruit prices.

The realization of the prescribed housing construction and investments serv- ing the development of education and health affairs contributed to an im- provement in living conditions. The expansion of child care institutions exceeded the plan.

Due to a number of factors the 1976 increase in foreign trade was smaller than prescribed in the plan. Ruble accounting trade developed essentially as planned but the deficit exceeded the prescription.

Although the deficit in our non-ruble accounting foreign trade balance was smaller than last year the decrease in imports played a larger role in this than did the increase in exports. The decrease in imports is in itself a favorable factor from the viewpoint of the balance but a lasting solution can be achieved only by a dynamic increase in economical export. This is also a precondition for ensuring the necessary imports. The more moderate than prescribed increase in capitalist exports was fundamentally interde- pendent with the smaller than planned agricultural and foodstuffs industry export and this could not be counterbalanced by an increase in industrial exports. Within industrial exports the export of the processing industry was smaller than needed while the export of materials and of products of a material character increased strongly.

As is well known there were price measures last year which significantly affected enterprise management and there were changes in the economic

regulator system which modified the distribution of income. According to experience the economic regulators have influenced or will influence the activity of enterprises and cooperatives in accordance with economic policy goals. The financial situation of the enterprises is satisfactory. The regrouping of social net income to the benefit of the budget has been realized to the degree imagined. The budget payments of enterprises and cooperatives are essentially what was prescribed.

Summing up the experiences of last year we can state that the chief trends of our economic development correspond to our economic policy goals, that we are fundamentally progressing in the desired direction but that the pace of development did not reach what was planned. The economic burdens of the country continued to increase, if to a smaller extent than before, and conditions for solving the tasks standing before us this year are a little more unfavorable than we reckoned on in the five-year plan.

There is no way for us to make favorable the unfavorable circumstances caused by processes taking place in international economic life. But it does depend on us whether we are able to adapt more quickly to the changed conditions in such a way as to decrease the disadvantages deriving from changes in price relationships. It is my conviction that we are capable of this; it is not only our tasks but also our strength and opportunities which are greater than ever before put in the service of our development. So not only must we do more this year, we are also capable of more.

## II.

When setting the chief prescriptions for the 1977 economic plan the Central Committee took into consideration the present situation of our people's economy, the level it had reached, our natural conditions, our material and intellectual resources and the domestic and international conditions for the fulfillment of the plan. The prescriptions of the plan were adjusted to the economic policy goals set in the Fifth Five-Year Plan.

In accordance with this the pace of economic development must be accelerated this year and in harmony with this accumulation must be increased to a greater degree and the standard of living of the populace must be raised. It is our task to fulfill by the end of the year the temporally proportional tasks of the first 2 years of the plan period. In other words this means that we must make up the lag of last year and fulfill those prescriptions of the Fifth Five-Year Plan due in 1977.

It is our conviction that this year's plan defines realistic, achievable goals but it presupposes an exploitation of our resources and possibilities which is better and more effective than before. The prescribed increase in national income requires that we achieve significant progress this year in increasing the efficiency of production. We must continue with all strength work directed at modernization of the product structure, at increasing the

ratio of economical and competitive products and at decreasing the ratio of uneconomical products. Central and enterprise investments must be even more severely rank ordered from the viewpoint of economicalness and their effect on the capitalist balance of payments. On a social scale we must develop rational thrift with labor force, materials and energy. The planned improvement in the economic balance demands that internal use--a cumulation and consumption--continue to increase more slowly than national income.

Taking all this into consideration the 1977 annual plan has prescribed an increase in national income of 6 to 6.5 percent and an increase in internal use of 4 to 5 percent. This substantially exceeds that of last year but it is in harmony with the material and technical possibilities of our economy and with the intellectual resources and capacity of our society. Providing foundations for a more balanced economic development and a swifter increase in the standard of living demand an acceleration in the rate of growth. The industrial and agricultural production prescriptions provide a foundation for the planned increase in national income. The capacities for this are available and the plan ensures resources to satisfy the material and energy needs.

The conditions for a 6 percent increase in industrial production are available or can be created. The rate of growth in production corresponds to what was calculated in the five-year plan and can be regarded as well founded from the side of demand. Domestic demand will increase more quickly than last year in harmony with the expansion in investment and popular consumption. We will increase export to a significant degree on the basis of agreements signed with CEMA countries. It will be necessary to increase to an even greater degree the capitalist export of industrial products.

Within industry the electric power industry, machine industry and chemical industry will develop most quickly but production of the food industry, light industry and the construction materials industry must be increased significantly also. In harmony with the balance requirements we must ensure an increase in domestic sales of industrial products of about 5 percent, a ruble accounting export increase of 11-12 percent and an even greater increase in non-ruble accounting export of 16-17 percent. Thus the priority task in industry is that the composition of production correspond to the marketing prescriptions. It can no longer be our goal to accelerate an increase in industrial production without regard to efficiency and quality requirements. The increase must be based on a development of product structure, technical level, quality of products and management which makes possible a more balanced development of the economy. We would be doing damage if we increased production in such a way as to lead to an increase in stockpiles. Thus, in industry, improving quality is a requirement which takes precedence over an increase in quantity. The people's economy needs products which satisfy real demands, are of good quality, are competitive on every market and so can be sold economically. Over-fulfillment is desirable only if it meets these requirements. This will require circumspect, disciplined work from every production unit.

The planned increase in production will be aided by placing into operation several large investments, by some modernization and by minor expansion. Considering the labor force situation the increase in production must be achieved in its entirety by increasing the productivity of labor. This presents a differentiated task for the various branches but it does not relieve a single plant of the obligation to make maximal efforts. Contract and cooperation discipline must be strengthened in cooperation among enterprises. Greater attention must be turned to a planned solution of parts manufacture and supply problems.

The transformation of product structure is supported by the guidance and helping work of the branch of industries and by long range developmental programs of enterprises and these should be extended to broader spheres than at present.

According to experience, for example, there are areas in the machine industry, light industry and elsewhere where the technical level of production equipment would make possible an increase in the production of products which are more valuable than the present ones, of better quality and capable of being sold on every market economically or of saving imports. These possibilities have not been exploited to a sufficient degree thus far; this is a task which must be solved without delay.

The investment and renewal tasks make necessary a 5-6 percent growth in construction industry production. Better harmony between construction industry capacities and construction requirements can be ensured primarily by improving utilization of existing possibilities, by purposeful use of developmental resources available. By improving organization and work discipline and increasing the ratio of workers paid by output it must be achieved that the productivity of construction industry work increases considerably over that of last year and becomes more organized.

The planned increase in national income presupposes that agricultural production will exceed that of 1975 by 7-8 percent. In the event of average weather conditions this can be achieved with the available personnel, material, and technical conditions. The question might be asked, Is it realistic to try to achieve in one year the rate of growth originally planned for 2 years? This is a forced but a fulfillable prescription. In terms of production value and in terms of yield levels it corresponds to the temporally proportional part of the five-year plan. It is true that the shortfall in production last year also diminished to some extent the resources which can be used for development. Nevertheless the prescribed increase in production can be achieved if the experience and the production funds accumulated in agriculture are well used and if every factor of production--including manpower and material and moral incentives--is brought to bear at an adequate level. An increase similar to that planned for this year has followed on several occasions a stagnation or regression similar to that of last year in agriculture; but we did not start from this in our planning. In both crop production and animal raising we prescribed the increase in production on the basis of the yields calculated for the second year of the Fifth Five-Year Plan.

Let me note here that the personnel and material conditions for the 4 percent increase in agricultural production prescribed for 1976 did exist. I might say, agriculture had it in it. If this is realized and if we add another 3-4 percent increase then it will demand similar efforts.

In crop production, with an essentially unchanged sowing structure, we reckon on a 10 percent increase in production value. This is a large task. But perhaps it is not superfluous to note that in more than one crop type we have already achieved higher yields than we prescribed for the year. It is a favorable circumstance that the fall grains were sown in time and the condition of the sowings is better than last year. Corn is our most important crop in addition to the other grains. We must take care that corn production be realized on the prescribed planting area. In regard to vegetables we are reckoning on a variety to suit the needs and on a powerful increase in yields. We must also increase the yields of industrial crops, hay and meadows.

The nearly 6 percent increase in the production value of animal raising must be based on about a 10 percent development in swine raising. The production increase for the other animal raising branches will remain at the about 3 percent average of recent years. The conditions for the planned development of animal raising do exist. Central measures serving the development of animal raising, a better use of operational conditions and the fodder base make possible an expansion of the production prescriptions. Better use of existing capacity must be regarded as a demand as must an increase in the level of breeding work and an increase in bulk fodder production. The results of the favorable turning of last year must be preserved in hog raising. Attention must be given to preserving the sow stocks which constitute the foundation for balanced meat production. Efforts directed at stimulating cattle raising and increasing cow stocks and milk production must be stepped up.

Special attention must be given to ensuring the material-technical conditions for agricultural production and to increasing production and marketing security. Associations and undertakings serving a rational uniting of forces and the development of production are worthy of support. While it is true that the planning guides for agricultural production depend largely on the good work of state farms and producer cooperatives it continues to be our task--and will be for a long time to come--to aid the production of household plot and auxiliary farms and the marketing of their products and to ensure the conditions necessary for them.

In harmony with the increase in production, investment and foreign trade the transportation tasks also will be larger than last year. The capacities for this are available but there is need for better scheduling and organization of shipments and for the cooperation of transportation, producing and marketing enterprises. For example, in the first quarter there must be an increase in the early delivery of construction materials. The conditions of passenger

transportation must be improved. We should continue the expansion of urban, especially Budapest, mass transportation, modernization of the railroads and of communications, reconstruction of roads and construction of highways.

In the final analysis the degree and quality of the development of our economy are defined by how effectively we can use the material and intellectual resources at our disposal. Scientific research and technical development have an important role in this. We must be ready to put more quickly into the service of production the domestic achievements of science which can be used in practice. In the interest of accelerating the modernization of the production structure and improving competitiveness it is also necessary for us to purchase to a greater degree than heretofore licenses and manufacturing procedures, caring for their domestic use and further development.

Increasing the productivity of labor demands of the enterprises and cooperatives that they improve the organization of operations and work. Some of our enterprises have already achieved results worthy of being followed in regard to organizational measures. But for the most part we can speak only of initial achievements and of very great reserves. Unfortunately many enterprises and even guiding organs still do not attribute sufficient significance to organization and to following and spreading good examples. We must better support, and demand an accounting concerning, an improvement of operational and work organization by various means--material and moral incentive, expert training and the more purposeful and productive work of organizational institutions.

One condition for a higher level of work and operational organization is that we make more rational and economical use of the manpower at our disposal, at the level of the people's economy and of the enterprises alike. Both national organs and the enterprises must make efforts to consistently carry out the party and government resolutions pertaining to an improvement of labor force management. We must help with central measures primarily those enterprises which are increasing economical export by the multiple shift use of modern production equipment or which are working on investments of outstanding significance.

We must see to it that employees work where the people's economy most needs them. We must recognize the fact that we have no opportunity for any considerable expansion of the labor force over either the short or long run. For this reason we must before all else give an impetus to developmental activity aimed at replacing live work in the processing industry, to mechanization of materials movement and to ending uneconomical production. Naturally there are limits, primarily investment limits, to an acceleration of this process. But there are large reserves in this area. We must concentrate our efforts on moderating the need for live work, on increasing productivity and on better use of work time. A good solution of the labor force management tasks especially requires the political support of party and social organs.

---

Experience shows that the ban ordered on hiring in administrative work areas has ended the increase in personnel and in some places there has even been a decrease. At the same time there has been no way for quality exchanges, which were tied to complex authorization procedures. Taking all this into consideration, there has been a modification for 1977 which, while preventing an increase in personnel, makes possible solutions which are more flexible than the present ones. For enterprises and institutions a ban on personnel increases will take the place of the ban on hiring for administrative positions. This makes possible, within the personnel frameworks, quality exchanges and the replacement of those leaving. The government will take measures to decrease personnel by 5 percent by 1980 in state administration and in organizations guiding enterprises and some of the savings realized from this can be used for wage development. At the same time work directed at rationalization of administration must continue.

The economic significance of thrift must continue to be emphasized. Measures aimed at this have already brought results. Among other things, we have succeeded in significantly decreasing the growth in demand for use of hydrocarbons. But it can still be considered characteristic that thrift has not yet become an organic part of management. So efforts must be increased in the interest of having a rational thrift which serves development permeate our entire society, become a common cause, so that every producing and every non-producing unit will have a concrete thrift program worked out as part of the plan. Economical management in connection with materials, energy and the use of by-products must continue to be in the fore.

There must be further progress in reducing those unjustified differences which appear in the production and profitability results of enterprises and cooperatives operating under the same conditions. This does not require any special material investment but is a possibility which in itself is a considerable reserve for development.

The plan prescribes a 4-5 percent increase in internal use. This is in harmony with the capacity of our economy and our aspirations aimed at a gradual improvement of the balance.

Within internal use 162-164 billion forints can be turned to investments, which means a 4-5 percent increase in volume. The acceleration, as well as possible, of the pace of investments is justified by both structural changes and modernization of the technical level. A careful and effective use of the investment sum available is necessary for the prescribed increase in production and the development of services. The ratio for industry, including the power branches and the food industry, is increasing in investments. The ratio for producing and non-producing branches corresponds to the prescriptions of the five-year plan. The increase in the number of uncompleted investments is moderating. Developmental resources--in all investment categories--must be concentrated primarily on the quickest possible realization of investments under way.

Several large investments will be completed this year. At the same time it will be possible for us to start more large investments than last year. Construction will begin on the Markushegy mine, the Bitto II bauxite mine, the Szikra Press, and the Szekszard Meat Combine. On the basis of a mid-year decision which will depend on the preparations construction may begin on the Nagyegyhaz mine, the third section of the Soviet-Hungarian natural gas line, the Trans-Danubian Reservoir Power Plant and the Budapest Sport Hall as may development of the Ferihegy Airport and flight control.

The total of enterprise investments will exceed somewhat that of last year. In harmony with the plan the effect of the new regulators will decrease the enterprises' own resources while credit and state support will increase. The annual credit allotment serving to expand the competitive export goods base will increase by about 40 percent, to 9 billion forints.

The increase in target group investments corresponds to what was calculated in the five-year plan. Within this the expenditures for housing construction may increase somewhat more swiftly than the average.

The plan, in harmony with the possibilities for internal use, prescribes a 3.7 to 4 percent increase in the volume of popular consumption. According to this the standard of living will rise more quickly than last year. This will be the result of the combined effect of several factors--the rate of economic growth and of the flow of personal incomes will accelerate; there will be central wage policy and, in a narrow sphere, social policy measures; and the increase in the consumer price level will be less than last year. A 2.5 to 3 percent increase in real wages and a 3.5 to 4 percent increase in real income will take place in such a way that the nominal income of the populace per capita will increase by 7.5 to 8 percent, the nominal wages per worker or employed earner will increase by 6.4 to 6.9 percent and the consumer price level will increase by 3.8 to 4 percent.

In the interest of an adequate stimulation of the goals contained in the plan and in the interest of increasing the standard of living there will be central wage policy measures also. We will turn 500 million forints to enterprise wage preferences in such a way that a larger proportion of this must be used to increase the effectiveness of production. Stimulating the effectiveness of production will also be served by the one billion forints we will devote to increasing or introducing a shift supplement in the area of industry, food retail marketing and the catering industry and to a special increase of base wages in the electric power industry and clothing industry.

In the course of the adjustment there will be a uniformization of the shift supplements and an increase in their present average size. The burdens of the increase in the shift supplements must be distributed in a differentiated way between the enterprises and the budget. We will aid with state support the execution of the increase in those enterprises where the ratio of workers in multiple shifts exceeds 15 percent. But the magnitude of state support

can be at most 75 percent. Those enterprises will be entitled to state support and can use it to increase base wages where the shift supplement was increased more than the average earlier at the expense of base wages.

The increased shift supplement and the increase in base wages tied to it will go into effect simultaneously on 1 July 1977.

The magnitude of guaranteed wage development in 1977 will be 4.5 percent for enterprises and non-agricultural cooperatives within the sphere of central wage regulation and 5 percent for budget institutions. The magnitude of the guaranteed wage development for enterprises operating on the basis of wage regulation tied to output and for industrial and consumers' cooperatives may be 1.5 percent.

On 1 January of this year there was a modification of the base wage schedule for workers and employees employed in enterprises. The modification was justified by the fact that some of the workers had approached or reached the upper limit of the wage rates and this hindered a suitable increase in the wages of good workers or led to unjustified reclassification, to supplements or to an undesirable relaxation of the schedule system. In addition, there were unjustifiably great differences between the upper and lower limits of wage rates for categories belonging to the same skill and working condition levels. All this made difficult a development of more correct earning ratios and payment according to work done. The lower rates of the new wage schedules have been increased by an average 35-40 percent and the upper wage limits have been increased by about 30 percent. The increase in wage rates was greater than average for highly trained workers and for those working under unfavorable conditions.

The schedule system for enterprise workers and employees affects more than two thirds of those employed throughout the people's economy or about 3.5 million workers. But the increase in wage rates will not be accompanied by an automatic increase in wages. It does provide an opportunity for purposeful use in years to come of the enterprises' own wage development funds. The prescribed lower wage limits must be achieved in 1979.

There have also been several social policy measures. As of 1 January 1977 we have extended child care aid and supplements to cooperative members. We have increased the social aid funds of councils. Every pensioner will receive a 50 percent discount on four roundtrip tickets for rail travel instead of the one per year thus far. The enterprise welfare fund will be increased from 750 forints to 800 forints per earner.

The incomes of the populace will be higher than last year but will rise to a more modest degree than in earlier years. For this reason an even and certain supply of goods will be especially significant as a standard of living policy factor. The prescriptions of the plan ensure a harmony between purchasing power and the goods base. Government organs and the producing and trade enterprises responsible for supply must see to it that the needs

of the populace can be continuously satisfied at an improving level and with an expansion of variety out of domestic production and import. This is an important political requirement for all those who have tasks in this area. We want to realize in a planned manner the prescribed development of the trade and catering network.

A 7 percent increase in the output of services for the populace has been prescribed. It is important that resources within the existing network, including possibilities in small industry, be used better. We will use state support totaling half a billion forints to supplement the developments.

The increase in the consumer price level in 1977 will be more moderate than last year, and will reach 3.8 to 4 percent. We attribute great significance to keeping the consumer price level within the planned limits. For this reason we must watch prices strictly. Care must be taken that there are no unjustified price increases.

The plan also prescribes a further improvement in the living conditions of the populace. The plan, which is supported by suitable budget prescriptions, provides for a continuation in the increase in housing construction as defined in the Fifth Five-Year Plan, for construction of child care institutions and for improvement in health, social and cultural conditions.

Fulfillment of our economic plan presupposes that we will increase our participation in the internal division of labor. Improving the foreign trade balance places great tasks before our people's economy and our work serving the development of international economic cooperation. We must continue to concentrate our efforts on strengthening our economic contacts with the CEMA countries, primarily with the Soviet Union, within the framework of socialist integration. The task in capitalist foreign trade is to increase our exports to a degree which substantially surpasses imports. In the future, as thus far, we should fulfill our obligations to socialist countries in accordance with inter-state contracts.

In ruble accounting relationships it will be necessary to increase the volume of export by 11-12 percent and import by at least 6-7 percent. It is in our interest for us to expand trade by a simultaneous increase in export and import above the obligations assumed in inter-state agreements too. It is thus very important that this be understood at every level of guidance and execution and that action be taken accordingly. This presupposes that we will increase efforts to increase socialist imports and to expand exports in harmony with this. The import possibilities deriving from socialist countries must be uncovered better than heretofore.

A part of the raw and basic materials and semi-finished products needed for our people's economy for the increased industrial and agricultural production can be purchased only from capitalist markets. This, and the losses deriving from the deterioration in exchange ratios, must be counterbalanced by increasing exports.

---

Without doubt the task requiring the greatest efforts is to ensure at least an 18 percent increase in non-ruble accounting export. It will be desirable and necessary to expand the export of agricultural and food industry exports by 32-34 percent as compared to the low level of last year. It is important that the export of industrial products, including machine industry and chemical industry products, also increase swiftly.

The creation and marketing of the goods base needed to increase export represent a great task for the industrial and commercial enterprises. We must improve the quality of goods and of marketing and market research work and must strive to attain higher sales prices and well timed purchases. Attaining higher export prices demands a better scheduling of deliveries and a substantial improvement in parts supply and service activity.

In regard to the financial situation of the people's economy, this developed last year in accordance with what was planned and was somewhat more favorable than in 1975. This year's state budget was developed in harmony with the economic plan. The economic plan prescribes a 10.4 percent increase in state budget income this year and a 10.5 percent increase in state budget expenditures. The ratio of investments to be realized from budget resources will increase within developmental activity so the accumulation expenditures will be greater than last year by 10 billion forints. Social insurance and the combined expenditures of budget organizations will rise even more, by about 12 billion forints. The increase in import prices and stimulating export also place increasing burdens on the budget.

Social insurance expenditures will increase swiftly this year also, by about 11 percent. According to the plan, the expenditures of health, social and cultural institutions may exceed those of last year by 7-8 percent and those of administrative organs by at most 3 percent. With careful management these prescriptions will make possible the operation of new facilities also. Every organ operating from the budget, including the councils, has an obligation to realize economical management.

According to experience the economic regulators modified last year are fulfilling their role so there will be no need for substantial changes. But minor adjustments do seem justified. There has been an increase in producers' prices in a narrow sphere.

\*\*\*

The most important condition for a successful fulfillment of the plan is that we approach the work with uniform will and that we carry out our tasks in a disciplined fashion in every place of work and in every position. Well planned, disciplined work is needed not only in the economy but also in every area of life, in administration and services and in scientific and cultural life as in the areas of health and education, in a word, everywhere.

Good conditions for realization of the plan were produced by the fact that the majority of the enterprise and cooperative plans were approved at the beginning of the year and by the fact that there was no major modification but only minor adjustment of the economic regulators. Every economic unit can survey and evaluate its tasks clearly.

We must approach our work in the knowledge that a successful execution of the 1977 annual economic plan is of defining significance for achieving the goals of the Fifth Five-Year Plan and ensuring a balanced economic development and a swifter increase in the standard of living. This requires that there be a consistent realization of the resolution of the 11th Congress and of the higher demands posed for economic construction work by the Fifth Five-Year Economic Plan at every step of guidance and execution.

Successful fulfillment of the plan, consolidating the favorable trends and overcoming our difficulties require that we strengthen a uniform view in the interpretation of tasks and increase activity and a feeling of responsibility in action.

The most important task of the government is to supervise the chief processes of economic life and, if necessary, to take measures in time so that the chief ratios of annual plan fulfillment should develop according to the prescriptions. This is also an important task for branch guidance. The ministries should not intervene unnecessarily in matters belonging in the sphere of authority of the enterprises but they should take care that the enterprise plans are carried out in harmony with the demands contained in the plan of the people's economy. All the management activity of the enterprises, cooperatives and councils should be in harmony with the economic policy goals contained in the plan.

The 11th Congress established that our system of economic guidance well serves the realization of our economic policy. Under the more difficult economic conditions it is even more the task to realize our proven basic principles. For this reason, in the interest of improving planning, we should simultaneously strengthen central guidance and local independence and responsibility. We should conceive of effective central guidance in such a way that it not only demands but also presupposes the initiative and responsible, independent decisions of enterprises, cooperatives and councils. This is indispensable for the broad discovery of local reserves and putting them into the service of management.

An indispensable condition for the realization of the goals put forward in the plan is that there be a further strengthening of the guiding and supervising role of the party and its mobilizing strength in economic work. The coordinated work of the party is needed so that the workers should recognize and make their own the plan goals and take part in their realization with disciplined work. In the present situation increased significance should be attributed to the example provided by the communists and to their taking the lead in the fulfillment of tasks.

---

Execution of the people's economic plan demands an improvement in the level of leadership and a high level of responsibility and discipline in the personal work of leaders. The overwhelming majority of the economic leaders carry out their tasks honorably and with self-sacrifice and understanding and are capable of meeting the greater requirements. The party and social organs should support themselves better on those leaders who take courageous initiatives in harmony with the interests of the people's economy. In accordance with the principles of our cadre policy we should see to it that those working in leading posts are suitable for them.

A solution of our tasks also requires that the mass organizations and mass movements, especially the trade unions, the KISZ and the People's Front, increase their activity and continue to take a worthy part in the execution of our plans. The activity of the communists working in the mass organizations should be directed at carrying out interest defending tasks and at mobilizing the members of their organizations to carry out the people's economic plan.

Reporting on the plan must be improved and agitation and propaganda work aiding its execution must be stepped up. Communists working in information and news organs should turn greater attention to a suitable realization of economic policy requirements. The press, radio and television should continue to aid a realistic evaluation of our economic situation by public opinion. In harmony with our efforts aimed at developing the economy and improving living conditions greater space and a greater role should be given in our activity to popularizing good initiatives, in addition to criticizing errors, and to reporting on the diligence of workers and the efforts and achievements of our people.

We should know that in the future as in the past we can solve our tasks well only by thinking and acting together with our working people. Care must be taken that working collectives everywhere are regularly informed about national and local economic tasks; their proposals should be made use of and their initiatives should be supported. In a word, we should make better use of the great possibilities of socialist democracy in every place of work. This is also an indispensable condition for strengthening moral incentive and for giving new impetus to the socialist labor competition and socialist brigade movement which serve the fulfillment of the qualitative requirements of the plan.

Our people have solved great tasks in building a socialist society and have overcome many difficulties. If we look back over only the last two decades then everyone knows that our party and our government have fulfilled the great tasks they undertook in the service of the people. Our people respect and have high regard for the results achieved by common work; they support our efforts aimed at building a developed socialist society and they have worked for this with worthy sacrifice and honor. Our economy and our society have solid foundations for further development. If everyone does without stint what he has the obligation and responsibility to do then we can solve our tasks successfully.

POLAND

ARTICLE BY POLISH DISSIDENT KOLAKOWSKI

Rome L'ESPRESSO in Italian No 5, 6 Feb 77 pp 36-37

[Text] The greatest Polish philosopher, currently in exile at Oxford, explains why Marxism in the Eastern countries has no future as a doctrine or in practice. The crisis, he says, is obvious. And the consequences? We shall see.

The new phase of the opposition in the countries of Eastern Europe consists of the concomitance of various circumstances which have made of the anti-totalitarian opposition, especially in Poland, a new phenomenon. First, the opposition, at least its main branch, is open and not conspiratorial. The recent phase of the opposition movement began at the end of 1975 when a protest by about 60 people--followed by a great number of similar acts, both collective and individual--was held to protest against amendments to the Polish constitution: the purpose of the amendments was to confirm the leadership role of the party (that is to say the uncontrolled despotism of the governing apparatus over society and the "Polish-Soviet friendship," that is to say the dependence of Poland on the Soviet empire. The strength of the protest movement obviously surprised the leaders, who gave in to the pressure by revoking or altering some of the proposed amendments.

This movement was still active when it coincided with the riots and the workers' strikes following the enormous increases in prices of June 1976. The leaders of the party capitulated immediately before the workers' protests, cancelling the increases, but the following mass repression--beatings, torture, trials, the firing of thousands--produced a new situation which brought together various currents of the resistance: the workers, the intellectuals and the Church.

Certainly the Committee for the Defense of the Workers, formed in September 1976, is not a political organization: its purpose is to offer financial assistance to the persecuted workers and to their families, to reveal police brutality and government lies. Nonetheless, this confers to its activity a political significance by the simple fact of defending human rights in a police state.

Now, the second characteristic of the current phase of the opposition movement consists of an extraordinary unity of ideas. Perhaps the main reason for the lack of substantial disagreements within the opposition movement in Poland is the crushing burden of oppression and national humiliation. The awareness that Poland is a victim of Soviet imperialism, that she depends, in every sphere of social life, on a foreign empire and that the current political system was imposed and maintained by Soviet power, is very acute, universal and clear.

This awareness produces the general hatred for all that comes from the Soviet Union and fuels--unfortunately, but understandably--the traditional anti-Russian feeling, rooted in history. Because the national oppression not only eclipses other problems but is commonly considered by the population as the principal root of all evils, economic, social and cultural, there is plenty of room for the unification of various focuses of an opposition which probably, under the conditions of a sovereign country, would have a greater variety and more internal conflicts. This explains in part the differences between the opposition movement in the USSR and those of its protectorates. In the Soviet Union the opposition is less widespread, but more differentiated: it ranges from an anticommunist Russian nationalism (a sort of Bolshevism without Marxism) to democratic ideas of Western orientation.

The antitotalitarian opposition groups in various countries of the Soviet bloc have practically no direct connections. However, there naturally exist mutual influences. One of the main preoccupations of the leaders in all these countries is to isolate from each other the various opposition movements and to prevent them from manifesting themselves simultaneously in more than one country. Another characteristic of the current stage of development of the opposition is the obviously decreasing role that the so-called revisionist ideas play. Revisionism, which was an attempt to rehabilitate democratic principles and to restore intellectual and moral values and criteria in the communist system and on the base of the communist tradition, has declined at the same time as and parallel to the general decline of communist ideology. In Poland, revisionism was already practically dead in 1968. In other countries--in the USSR and in Czechoslovakia--one can still note, in the opposition movements, some attempts to refer to Marxist and communist slogans, but their role is clearly in a decline. In Poland, hardly anybody talks any more in terms of a return to "genuine" Marxism. The communist ideology is not taken seriously by anybody, neither by those governing nor by those who are governed. It has become a collection of empty ritualistic slogans, indispensable not because they are believed by anybody, but because they provide for the governing apparatus its only, if only in terms of phraseology, appearance of legitimacy. Communism is material for naked and raw power, not for intellectual discussion, and thus the revisionist ideas have lost their meaning. They kept a certain vitality only as long as the communist doctrine maintained some vestige of vitality. But ever since this doctrine has entirely lost its force of persuasion, there is nothing left to "revise." Of course, even now, if a leader of the

type of Dubcek should appear in any of these countries, he could count on a great solidarity: but not because his supporters were inspired by a special variety of the communist credo, but because, obviously, people prefer a communism which is less oppressive to one which is more oppressive. Similarly, the mass support given to the Portuguese military coup in April 1974 does not mean that the bulk of the population shares the specific political ideas of General Spinola, but simply that it wanted to get rid of the existing system.

And this explains for the most part the somewhat ambivalent attitude of the antitotalitarian opposition, the so-called Euro-communism. It is not necessary to say that this opposition welcomes any moral support which comes to it from Western communists and their criticism, however cautious and weak, of the communist governments of Eastern Europe. Various documents of the opposition frequently refer to this criticism. It is only fair to point out, however, that the sympathy for Euro-communism which exists in the communist countries is above all sympathy for movements that weaken Soviet expansionism and not total support for an amended version of communism. So far, the only communism which has been observed in power is the Soviet type, of the Leninist-Stalinist variety: totalitarian, imperialist and highly oppressive in every phase of human activity. As long as there is not, in the Euro-communist parties, a complete and irrevocable break with the Soviet system, the sympathy of the Eastern European antitotalitarian opposition will be tainted with strong reservations. The immediate prospects of the opposition movements depend on many circumstances and cannot be foreseen. The ruling group in Poland and elsewhere seems to be prey to panic and confusion.

It fears too strong a repression as much as one which is too weak and it is not able to choose a consistent line. Members of the Committee for the Defense of the Workers are always being harassed by the police, robbed of the money that they collect for the workers: there are continual searches, arrests, threats, circulation of false documents (to spread confusion, the police have twice put into circulation apochryphal communiques from the committee). On several occasions they have had sent from abroad, to persons in Poland, false documents; recently, for example, a statement completely invented and with forged signatures: mine and that of Professor Brus of Oxford and that of Adam Michnik. Having lost any vestige of credibility, the government seems paralyzed. Panic can spread out in different directions and certain symptoms lead us to anticipate more violent repressions, perhaps on an international scale. But, whatever the outcome of the current situation, the opposition movement in the whole Eastern bloc is an irrevocable fact.

8956  
CSO: 3104

ROMANIA

HISTORIANS' VIEWS ON 'HISTORIC COMPROMISE' DISPUTED

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 2, Jan 77 pp 55-56

/Article by Stefan Voicu: "On the 'Historic Compromise' and the History of the Romanian People"7

/Text/ An article signed by Gh. I. Ionita and N. Nicolaescu entitled "On Compromise, Conciliation and Reconciliation in the History of the Romanian People" in REVISTA DE ISTORIE No 9, September 1976 is noteworthy.

In their treatment of these problems the authors of the article proceed from the position taken by the 11th Party Congress as to the necessity of a historic reconciliation between the communist and socialist parties and from the preparation by communist parties in the West of ways of their own toward socialism allowing for the general laws of social development and fully corresponding to the particular national characteristics of the social and historical development of the countries in which they operate.

To be sure it is salutary to discuss these problems in our specialized publications, because they are extremely important to the strategy and tactics of the communist and labor parties in this historical period of profound revolutionary social changes and upheavals. The course of current international events bears out the fact that we are living in the era of transition to socialism on the part of all peoples still under the domination of capital. Unquestionably these peoples' transition to socialism is taking highly varied and constantly more varied forms, with the contribution of increasingly varied social forces. This process is going on throughout the world at unequal rates and with contradictory phenomena that can bring about progress, stagnation and even partial or temporary retrogression, but their objective, inevitable purpose is the structural renovation of society as a whole and its reorganization on new, socialist bases which in their turn have the most varied forms and methods from one country to another. In this historical perspective the problem of the ways and means of socialist revolution and construction of the new social order has become of urgent importance to the working class and its parties and to all progressive social forces.

In the international communist movement it is becoming increasingly apparent that some new nations' transition to socialism will take other forms than it

did in the present socialist countries, and that the forms of each individual revolution are original and unique. The variety of these forms is determined for every nation by its historical, national and social features which lend it distinctive traits.

Under these circumstances, the communist parties in the capitalist countries today are naturally emphasizing investigation of their social and historical realities in their theoretical and strategic considerations, analyzing the class structure and relationships as well as the shifts in structure, disposition and balance of power on the national level, and following with particular care the evolution of international affairs and the complex of phenomena and forces that affect, in one way or another, the course of internal events as well as the entire process of worldwide revolution. This is being done (in the light of the extremely valuable favorable experience of the socialist countries as well as their unfavorable experience) to determine the phenomena and factors critical to the development of revolutionary political tactics and strategy, and to determine the particular ways and means to be promoted to lend a nation a new type of social development.

I quote, because of their great fundamental importance, the words of Nicolae Ceausescu in his speech to the Grand National Assembly in December 1975: "We can but welcome the efforts of parties in the Western countries, for example, to find the best ways of making democratic socioeconomic changes that will permit the transition to a new social development. Our party secretary general highly valued these efforts that "enrich revolutionary social and political thought with new experiences and enhance man's historical process of transition from capitalism to socialism."

The authors of the article in REVISTA DE ISTORIE dwell particularly upon the PCI's /Italian Communist Party/ strategy known as the "historic compromise." This strategy is presented accurately enough, on the basis of Party Secretary General Enrico Berlinguer's report to the last PCI Congress.

But after this the authors of the article, in trying to resolve the problem "that must certainly be explained" and to make a "clear distinction" between the various concepts, make a number of points and characterizations about the historic compromise and historic reconciliation that are very confused both theoretically and historically.

To cite just one example in this brief commentary, we mention only the statement about the historic compromise to the effect that "It is concluded between the social classes of the people, sometimes even between classes with different economic and social interests, united by a common danger, a danger which once removed restores each of these classes to the positions before the struggle." But the purpose of the strategy of the historic compromise, designed as a new revolutionary strategy meeting Italy's present conditions, is not the elimination of "a common danger" but the profound democratization of Italy and structural changes for the gradual transformation of the country in the direction of socialism. Even if we assume that it is a question of a compromise "between classes with different social and economic interests" (which is not the case because it is a question of social classes and categories objectively interested

in changing the social structure), the accomplishment of the proposed objective of gradually introducing some elements of socialism into Italian society in itself eliminates any kind of restoration of the classes "to the positions before the struggle."

I cited this example to call attention to a fundamental error of the authors of the article, namely that they detach the historic compromise from the theoretical and strategic context of the present efforts of some communist parties in the western countries to adopt new ways and means of socialist construction and revolution and transpose it, with no justification whatever, to the level of universal history. Their lengthy demonstration indicates that the strategy of the historic compromise always existed in history and, regardless of the historical period and what people, was aimed at "the struggle with united forces against any internal or external danger that threatened the people's existence."

In this context, after they confuse "the historic compromise" with "the historic reconciliation," considering them the same thing "regardless of the term this phenomenon is called," Gh. I. Ionita and N. Nicolaescu purely and simply transpose the strategy of the historic compromise to the ethnic origin and age-old history of the Romanian people. According to them, the history of the Romanian people is the history of the historic compromise "beyond the possibility of doubt," as they categorically state.

We quote, by way of example, "The union of tribes that was formed around Burebista 2,050 years ago" was "made possible by the historic compromise..." As the authors of the article tell us, "During the migration of the peoples, the historic compromise assumed much more complex forms." Mihai Viteazul's period was glorious because he "succeeded in achieving a historic compromise in the 8 years of his reign." The unification of Moldavia with Wallachia in 1859 was possible "because of an extensive historic compromise." And so on, taking in turn but not in chronological order the great and other less great but significant points in Romanian history, such as the process of national unification, the formation of the National Antihitlerite Front, the incorporation of the Worker-Peasant Bloc in 1926 in a united opposition, the elections in Mehedinti and Hunedoara in February 1936, and the victory of the armed antifascist and anti-imperialist insurrection in August 1944. All these and many others are supposed to be strategies of the historic compromise.

We must say in connection with all this that the age-old history of the Romanian people is characterized by constant class struggles between the exploited and exploiters and by endless national struggles against foreign domination and in defense of the nation's existence and freedom. The temporary or lasting accords and alliances of the working class and its class party were the result of a policy of workers' unity and extensive coalitions against capitalist exploitation, reaction and fascism and on behalf of democracy, social progress, and national and social freedom.

To be sure in the course of the great social and national battles fought by the Romanian people, the working class and its class party there were innumerable groupings and regroupings of various forces, as well as temporary or lasting alliances, involving the acceptance or rejection of compromises. But none of

---

these has anything in common, in either form or content, with the concept of the "historic compromise," which was developed as a new revolutionary strategy of the working class in a particular country and under particular conditions of the national and international balance of power for the purpose of gradually overcoming the capitalist system.

It is not our intention here to enter into more detailed analysis of the article "On Compromise, Conciliation and Reconciliation in the History of the Romanian People." We feel the very title of the article is illuminating. But we express our astonishment that authors well known in historical journalism (one of them, moreover, a valued collaborator of our publication) as well as a historical journal that has deservedly won scientific authority at home and abroad have published an article wherein the notable events and achievements in the age-old history of the Romanian people and in the history of our working class and its party are presented as fruits of endless historic or nonhistoric compromises.

In view not only of the confusion to which the above-mentioned article gives rise, it is of great ideological and political importance for the institutes of political sciences etc. to treat competently and objectively, in the social-political and historical publications, the new experiences in the revolutionary social-political thought and practice of some communist and labor parties as well as the new problems presented by the current strategy and tactics of the brother parties in the Western countries. Thorough knowledge of these problems is essential to a profound understanding, in the light of our party's policy and the RCP Program, of the new phenomena of the worldwide revolutionary process and of the modern world.

5186  
CSO: 2700

DECREE ON DELIVERIES TO DEFENSE, INTERIOR MINISTRIES

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 2, 10 Jan 77 p 3

[Council of State Decree Concerning Conditions for the Delivery of Products to the Ministry of National Defense and the Ministry of the Interior]

[Text] The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Article 1. All types of products which are delivered to the Ministry of National Defense and the Ministry of the Interior, on the basis of economic contracts, by the state socialist units and cooperative units are received qualitatively by the supplier and their delivery and quantitative reception take place at the depositories of the beneficiary units.

In the case of deliveries stipulated in the preceding paragraph, the ownership or the right to direct administration, as well as the risks, are transmitted at the moment of the quantitative reception.

Article 2. The expenses borne by the supplier for sending, transporting, and possibly insuring the products delivered under the conditions specified in Article 1, expenses which are not included in the legal price, are recouped from the Ministry of National Defense or the Ministry of the Interior, according to the case, on the basis of the proper justifying documentation.

Article 3. Shipments of arms, munitions, and combat technology which are delivered to the Ministry of National Defense and the Ministry of the Interior will be accompanied by an armed guard supplied by the respective beneficiary ministries.

Article 4. Council of Ministers Decision No 2481/1953 on some conditions for the delivery of products to the Ministry of the Armed Forces, the Ministry of State Security, and the Ministry of Internal Affairs by state and cooperative economic organizations and enterprises, as well as any other provisions contrary to the present regulation, is abrogated.

Nicolae Ceausescu,  
President of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Bucharest, 5 Jan 77

No 1

END

56

CSO: 2700